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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Alia New Year Speech Hails Socialist 'Victories'

AU0101145190 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 1 Jan 90

["The Line of the Party—Line of Freedom, Full National and People's Sovereignty—Comrade Ramiz Alia's Address to the People on Occasion of New Year"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 1 (ATA)—Dear comrades, workers and peasants, intellectuals and youngsters, mothers and sisters: Happy new year.

I wish the year 1990 will be a year of fresh successes and victories in the field of socialist construction and defence of our beloved homeland, in strengthening the national freedom, independence and sovereignty, which are so dear to every Albanian.

The year that went out was a marked year for our country. We commemorated the 45th anniversary of the liberation and the establishment of people's power, evoked the heroism of the people in the National Liberation War, recalled the glorious road we have traversed to build the new life, recalled the numerous sacrifices our people have made to come into light and pledged that we will always march resolutely on the road we have chosen, on the socialist road.

This year, too, we worked with great enthusiasm and mobilization, with lofty spirit of responsibility. The achievements have been satisfactory.

Concerning the results in economy, culture and other fields, we may say that the year 1989 was the best year of the Eighth Five Year Plan. We ensured two billion leks of social product more than last year. National income increased by 10 percent, those of agricultural cooperatives by 12 percent, and exports by about 20 percent. The country's economic and political stability further strengthened, people's supply with food articles and consumer goods improved, important steps were taken to expand education and culture. This year 73 percent of graduates from eight-form schools pursued studies in the secondary schools, as against only 40 percent in 1980.

These successes are fruit of the work of our people, of their toil, knowledge, and will. Therefore, on behalf of the party, I wholeheartedly congratulate you all, comrade workers, peasants and intellectuals, who have shouldered the country's socialist construction, who have exerted all the physical and mental abilities to the homeland and the cause of socialism.

In the course of the 45 years of free life, every year has been more prosperous than the previous one. Such will also be for the year 1990. This was also reflected in the plan endorsed by the People's Assembly some days ago. All the sectors of economy and culture, public and health services will develop more vigorously. This year priority will be attached to the improvement of people's supply with food products and industrial and mass consumer goods as well. This is made possible because this year the material and technical base of agriculture is strengthened, certain stimulating measures for the augmentation of the agricultural and livestock production are further extended, and the investments for the light and foodstuff industry increased.

The realisation of these plans demands from all persistent work and efforts, creative and revolutionary spirit. Economic austerity measures are demanded everywhere. In order to enhance the effectiveness of production it is necessary to harmonize better the interests of the society, of the collective and individuals, to open up a broader road to the initiative and self-action of the masses, the increase of their responsibility and role. The struggle against bureaucracy, against routine and every outdated mentality should be conducted in this process, our socialist democracy must be strengthened.

The general line of our party, which is elaborated in Albania and by the Albanian communists themselves, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, has been and is a correct line, the line of freedom, independence, and full national and people's sovereignty, unconditioned by foreign powers or organisms, of any hue whatsoever. At any time it has responded to the circumstances and interests of our country. It has brought about welfare and freedom to the people, it has brought them the full national dignity. Therefore, just like yesterday and today, in the future too we shall pursue it loyally.

The events that have occurred recently in East Europe have inspired certain known anti-Albanian forces to resume the campaign of slanders against our country. But, as our people say, they cannot succeed in doing us harm. We Albanians are used to forging ahead through struggle and efforts, we are used to being on the watch, not to be caught unaware. The Albanian has never subdued to any enemy, however big, cunning or perfidious it might be. We have never allowed and will never allow anybody to dictate his laws and norms .

Albania develops and progresses according to the principle of self-reliance, respecting the conditions of the country and traditions of our people. We have attained the magnificent victories we are enjoying today, through this road, we shall safeguard them even in the future through this road, just like we defend resolutely the national freedom, independence and sovereignty, socialism.

Our party and people are convinced that our order has a great vitality and creative power, it is capable to carry forward the society and to overcome any difficulty and obstacle. The system we have built recognizes no exploitation of man by man. In our country there are no rich people to live at the expense of the workers and peasants, just as there are no poor to live on the charity of any other. Everyone lives on his own toil and sweat.

Our socialist society is a society of justice, it experiences no social conflicts and national oppression, it respects the man of labour, the honest man. It is these factors our powerful unity relies on, it is these moral values our socialist order is based upon; herein stems the rights and duties of the citizen.

We are conscious that we have much to do in order to be transformed into a rich country. But we are proud of being free and independent, as we are sure that our future will be better and more prosperous. In order to reach this aim we have joined all our forces and are working tirelessly. We are seeing to this new year with this conviction and belief. Let us make the year 1990 a year which will bring about to our people all the best and prosperity, which will guarantee to our homeland the national freedom, independence and sovereignty it enjoys.

Once again I wish happy new year, to all of you, sisters and brothers, citizens of socialist Albania and compatriots wherever you are, and keep alive the love for the motherland. I wish you all the best and happiness, in life and your families, successes in work and lessons.

ATA on Improving Balkan Cooperation

AU3112153389 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 31 Dec 89

["Albania's Sincere Aspiration to Contribute to the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 31 (ATA)—The constant policy of our party and government has been and is the establishment of good neighbourly relations, exerting all efforts that the spirit of understanding, cooperation and harmony prevail on our peninsula. It has aimed that the Balkans belong to the Balkan countries and peoples, to be far from chauvinist pressures, intrigues and passions (?zealously) instigated by world reaction, Napoleon Roshi, member of the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation writes in the newspaper BASHKIMI.

It is a positive fact that the most progressive forces in the Balkans, the intelligentsia of these countries, distinguished personalities of culture and science, are raising their voice and demand that the Balkans be characterized by more understanding and cooperation. Whereas the Balkans are called a "powder keg" because of the conflicts, where not rarely the others have warmed up their hands, there are numerous facts testifying to the rapprochement, understanding and spiritual and material cooperation among the peoples of our peninsula.

Our country, the author stresses, has welcomed and has actively taken part in the whole process of the rapprochement and cooperation in the Balkans. Through its policy and stands it shows to the neighbours and other countries of the peninsula that no evil will ever come to them from the Albanian territory. In our country we are deeply convinced that a good climate on our peninsula is not only to the interest of every Balkan people and country, but at the same time it influences positively in creating a sounder atmosphere in Europe, in the whole Mediterranean basin and broader.

Albania took part in the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries held in Belgrade. The Albanian delegation proposed among the others that the Committees of the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation reactivate their work. The Albanian Committee has carried out an intensive activity and has become the promoter of a series of initiatives to inspire the Balkan cooperation and understanding.

In the course of 45 years of her free and independent life, Albania has attached priority to the relations and cooperation with the neighbours, the author stresses. She has been patient, has put above everything else the interests of Albania, and of good neighbourliness as well. Due to this foreign policy, good relations have been established with all the Balkan countries. If the relations are not such with Yugoslavia, the blame does not rest on Albania. Our country has publicly declared that it does not want to change borders, that Albania does not (?plant) and instigate Yugoslavia's destabilization, that no evil will ever occur to Yugoslavia and the other neighbours as well from Albania.

Our country, the article stresses in conclusion, wants that the Balkan cooperation to be as broad as possible and all-sided so as to cover the fields of science, art, culture, ecology, and particularly the intensification of the economic cooperation. It is to the interest of each of the countries that this cooperation will expand and be put on sound basis.

Higher Annual Agricultural Production Reported

AU3112153289 Tirana ATA in English 0858 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana , December 31 (ATA)—As for all the other working people of the country, for the working people of agriculture as well, 1989 was a year of great mobilization. The overall agricultural production increased 9.7 percent as against a year ago, the greatest growth reached in the recent years. The plan of production of sugar beet, sunflower, barley, industrial soya, meat etc., is realised.

In 1989 as against 1988 there were produced more of the following: 38.6 thousand tons of bread grains, 127 thousand tons of sugar beet, 30 thousand tons of vegetables, 27 thousand tons of potatoes, 12 thousand tons of fruits, 10 thousand tons of milk, 25 million eggs, etc. These results have been attained due to beaking [word as received] by the seventh plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the party for agriculture which adopted measures for the further strengthening of the necessary material base to intensify production. Better results were attained by the districts of Korce, Sarande, Gjirokaster, Shkoder, Lezhe, Kruje, Pogradec, etc.

During 1990, the total agricultural production will augment by 15 percent, as against the realization of 1989, bread grains by 11 percent, the same holds true for vegetables, meat, milk, potatoes, etc. In order to fulfil the tasks, special care will be taken to augment the irrigated area, by augmenting investments for the construction of great irrigation projects, intending to commission them ahead of schedule. Likewise, work will continue for the scientific treatment of arable lands, particularly by increasing the quantity of manure and fertilizers applied to them.

Carcani Congratulates New Romanian Prime Minister

AU3012145889 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 30 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, has sent a message of greeting to the premier of Romania Petre Roman:

Your assignment to the post of the premier of Romania affords me the opportunity to extend to you my wishes and at the same time to express my conviction that the relations of cooperation between Albania and Romania will develop non-stop.

I avail myself of the opportunity to wish the friendly Romanian people progress and prosperity.

Alia Greets PLO's 'Arafat on Revolution Day

AU3112202489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Dec 89

["Greetings telegram" from Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Yasir 'Arafat, president of the Palestinian State and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee—date and place not given]

[Text] The commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the day of the Palestinian Revolution affords me the unique pleasure of sending to you and to the Palestinian people, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on my own behalf, the warmest greetings and very best wishes.

On this important day for the Palestinian people, the Albanian people cordially wish them further successes in their just struggle for freedom and for the realization of their lofty national aspirations.

I express the wish that the friendly and fraternal relations that link our two peoples will constantly develop and strengthen to their common benefit.

Alia Greets Cuba's Castro on National Day

AU3112202289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Dec 89

["Greetings telegram" from Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Cuban President Fidel Castro Ruz—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of your National Day and Cuba's Liberation Day, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on our own behalf, we send to you and through you to the friendly Cuban people warm greetings and best wishes for further successes in the work for the comprehensive development of the national economy and culture and for the country's prosperity.

We express the conviction that the friendly ties of fruitful cooperation between our countries will be extended and developed to the mutual benefit of our two peoples.

10,000 Demonstrate in Kurdzhali

AU0201152990 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—More than ten thousand people are demonstrating in the Southern town of Kurdzhali (259 km away from Sofia) against the resolution of the State Council and the Government adopted at the end of last week according to which the Bulgarian Muslims are given the right to choose their names freely.

Five hours ago the demonstrators occupied the central parts of the town and they are still there. They are protesting against the decision made by the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] on December 29, 1989 and especially against the way it was made.

The decision of the Plenum of the CC of the BCP preceded the resolution adopted by the State Council and the government.

A Committee of Civic Unity has been set up in Kurdzhali which came out with a declaration.

"Once more people belonging to the supreme party leadership who do not know the actual processes taking place in some regions of the country have adopted categorical peremptory decisions and impose their will on public opinion", it is said in the declaration. The party and the state leadership are criticized for not having held a referendum on this national problem of paramount importance and for being in service of the political conjuncture. "It is not possible to correct past political mistakes by decisions made without holding a public opinion poll", it is said in the declaration.

The Committee of Civic Unity in Kurdzhali proposes that the National Assembly should postpone the adoption of a resolution on the national problem. This resolution should be adopted after the two sessions scheduled for January 1990 and after holding a nationwide referendum on the problem.

It is proposed that the parliamentary groups of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the independent associations should visit the regions where the national problem is most seriously felt in order to get acquainted with it on the spot. The way other countries have solved such national problems should also be studied.

The declaration insists that the blame for the inconsistent national policy of the last 45 years and especially after 1984 should not be laid only on Todor Zhivkov and his circle.

The demonstrators state that if they do not receive a concrete reply from the supreme party and state leadership by 18:00 hrs. on January 4, 1990, they will call for a two-hour general warning strike on January 5.

After approving unanimously the text of the declaration, the participants in the rally decided that a column of 200 cars should start for Sofia and after a demonstrative presence in front of the National Assembly the declaration should be presented to the Bulgarian Parliament.

Later on the demonstrators in Kurdzhali are expected to have a meeting with Andrey Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, who has left for that town.

The BTA correspondent in Kurdzhali has reported that at noon a rally of representatives of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population began. The participants are about two thousand. The thin row of the security forces separates the two rallies.

The Muslims insist on their Muslim names being restored, on safeguarding their civil rights in compliance with the Constitution and the Vienna Final Document.

As a result of frequently repeated extreme demands feelings are running high, the correspondent informs.

More on Protest Rally

AU0201214090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The protest rally in front of the building of the Municipal Bulgarian Communist Party Committee [BCP] in Kurdzhali lasted nearly 8 hours. This was an organized protest against the decision of the State Council and Council of Ministers on the free choice of names by the Muslim population. [passage omitted].

At 1600 precisely, Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, appeared before the demonstrators at the rally. For almost 5 minutes he was unable to begin his speech because he was interrupted by the chanting of the over [figure indistinct] participants in the rally. Andrey Lukanov's proposal that the other speakers should first come to the rostrum was accepted. He announced that all questions raised would be most carefully and seriously studied by the government organs and the National Assembly, and he appealed for a [words indistinct] dialogue based on equal rights.

This second part of the rally, which lasted until 1800, was not very different from the first part. The proclamation of the Committee for National Unity in Kurdzhali was read for the second time. It requested that the urgent national issues should be resolved on the basis of a nationwide referendum. Andrey Lukanov once more took the floor, (?after some of the requests—voiced categorically—excluded the possibility of a constructive dialogue). He declared as follows: Our country cannot exist in isolation from other states. It is our sacred duty today to preserve our people, the present generation, and our children and grandchildren from the consequences of a national split. The path of consensus, unity, and reconciliation is the only path of salvation today. We must be worthy of ourselves and of our democratic traditions, the speaker said in closing his statement.

A meeting took place with journalists, representatives of various groups and leading party bodies from the Kurdzhali Municipality and some neighboring municipalities with Andrey Lukanov and Ivan Ivanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Khaskovo Oblast BCP Committee, respectively, at which all problems connected with the present situation were discussed.

In his third statement to the demonstrators at the end of the rally, Andrey Lukanov announced that he would do everything within his power in the next 2-3 days so that a parliamentary group, expected to discuss the current questions with all citizens of the municipalities, will be sent to Kurdzhali. He promised that everything he heard, saw, and felt in Kurzhdali will be accurately reported to his colleagues in the leadership as soon as tomorrow.

On behalf of the initiative committee attached to the Union of Economic Activities in Kurdzhali and on behalf of the Kurdzhali public, a declaration was submitted in Sofia to Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, which proposes as follows:

The National Assembly should postpone the adoption of the decision on the national issue to the period following its two January sessions and after a nationwide referendum on the matter. The parliamentary groups of the BCP and of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and representatives of independent associations should visit the areas where the national issues are most crucial. There should be an immediate examination of how the national issue is correctly resolved in other countries, and, on this basis, the implementation of a constructive dialogue should be organized in accordance with the specific historical realities in the Balkans.

The blame for the inconsistent national policy in the years of the totalitarian regime—and especially during the 1984-85 period—as well as the actions connected with its implementation should not be solely attributed to Todor Zhivkov. The responsibility of the people of his entourage should be clarified, and their personal responsibility should be established, which applies also to members of the present party and state leadership.

Situation Raises 'Concern'

AU0201142490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The situation in Kurdzhali has raised concern. This morning a protest meeting against the decisions of the last plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and the State Council and Council of Ministers on the free choice of names, language, and religion, began there. It was demanded that the National Assembly postpone the decision on the nationality issue until the two January sessions [15 and 25 January] and until a nationwide referendum take place. The parliamentary groups of the BCP and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, as well as representatives of the independent associations, should visit the regions in which the nationality issue is sharpest and acquaint themselves with the situation on the spot. [passage omitted]

A counter rally took place in front of the building of the BCP Municipal Committee. Masses of the Muslim population in the region came to this rally. The Georgi Dimitrov Boulevard in the city became the border between the two groups. The situation is complicated by certain radical slogans and statements by speakers of both groups.

It was announced that Andrey Lukanov, member of the BCP Central Committee and Central Committee secretary, will arrive today in the city and will take part in a meeting, which is expected to begin now—at 1600.

We await new reports from Kurdzhali, with the expectation that emotions there will not prevail over common sense, and that all problems will be resolved without violating the rights of individual people and Bulgaria's national interests.

Editorial Explains Decision on Ethnic Rights

AU0301103190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Editorial: "Time For Free and Voluntary Choice"]

[Text] The readers' activity, letters, and numerous phone calls to the Editorial Board, within less than 24 hours, merely confirm a fact that even before had been doubted only by a few: Renewal of social life would be unthinkable without achieving true national consensus, and without overcoming the mistrust, hostility, and the insults that have resulted from the authoritarian regime's campaign for forcibly creating "the ethnically monolithic Bulgarian nation." Judging by some of the opinions you have expressed, the decisions of the 29 December Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers—which condemned all actions that violated the right of the Bulgarian citizens to freely chose names, religion, and customs—are giving rise to certain new concerns. Many party members are apparently convinced that these decisions mark the beginning of a new campaign—this time in the reverse direction.

With these few lines, we pose ourselves the task of allaying this concern. Neither the BCP nor the state are seeking overt or concealed roads to go back or to impose "from the top" a certain new thinking related to the issue of names, religion, traditions, and customs of the Bulgarian citizens, regardless of whether they are Eastern Orthodox, Catholics, Jews, or Muslims.

The 29 December decisions are based on the Bulgarian Constitution and on the international obligations assumed within the framework of the Vienna agreements (but not observed by the authoritarian government). We mean the guarantee of total freedom to enjoy all rights incorporated in the country's basic law and all other Bulgarian laws. This includes the right to freely choose names, religion, and customs, as well as the right to use other languages in everyday life—regardless of national or social origin, religion, sex, language, race, education, and material or social status.

Let us forget during the New Year that our people were divided into "us" and "them."

Bulgaria can progress only along the road of real unity.

Politburo's Policy on Muslims, National Unity

AU0201184990 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 2 Jan 90

["Politburo Calls For National Unity and Concord"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—An announcement circulated this evening informs that the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has discussed the efforts for the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the Plenum of the CC of the BCP on December 29, 1989 to rectify the abuses committed with respect to the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in the country.

It is pointed out that the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people takes a positive view and categorically supports the resolutions. They are assessed as correct and timely, even somewhat belated.

This is characteristic not only of most settlements with Bulgarian-speaking population, but also of most of the settlements with mixed population in the regions of Plovdiv and Varna and some other regions. It is not by chance that no unrest has broken out anywhere in the country, the situation is normal, it is characterized by a high degree of political maturity and civic responsibility and there is a trend towards growing sobriety and realism in the attitude of citizens, party bodies, public and state institutions.

The announcement reports, however, that in certain places in some regions of the country certain cadres, circles, primary and municipal party organizations are showing unease or disagreement with the resolution both with the procedure concerning its adoption and its essence. This is all the more true of the activists in certain municipalities in the Razgrad region and especially in the town of Kurdzhali.

The Politburo does not dramatize the situation. It sees this contradictory reaction as expected and unavoidable to a certain degree, having in mind that such a radical condemnation and rejection of the abuses committed in the recent past are at issue. Along with it the Politburo expresses its conviction that the emotional attitude and misjudgements of these circles will give way to sound reason.

The Politburo calls on the population in the town of Kurdzhali to set foot firmly on the road of reconciliation, goodwill, mutual assistance and joint work for the further building of this ancient part of Bulgaria.

The magnanimity, patriotism and human trust with which the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian-speaking population around the country welcomed the decision and by which it treats the Turkish-speaking population with which it has lived for decades in peace, concord and joint labour are especially emphasized and highly commended.

The chauvinist manifestations and slogans, the announcement says, draw disapproval and sharp criticism from the population. This is a guarantee that the ongoing process is unfolding properly and successfully and that the new policy will be implemented.

The Politburo emphasizes that the party is fully understanding and supportive to those members of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, especially the ones belonging to the younger generations, who will want to keep their present names of their own free will. They will not only be supported but will also receive protection by all possible means of the law and of public morals.

Along with that, the Politburo declares that it sees nothing wrong in the feelings of joy expressed by that part of the Turkish- speaking and Muslim population who want to have their old names back of their own free will. They all should be provided with this opportunity.

What matters most now is that this part of the population, too, awakes to the party's national unity, reconciliation and concord slogan and resolutely resist the nationalistic or other adventuristic manifestations, the announcement says.

The Politburo notes with great satisfaction the positive reaction of the young and of women to the first steps taken to implement the resolutions. The Politburo calls on the Bulgarian Bulgarian-speaking and on the Bulgarian Turkish-speaking population not to yield to provocations, threats, old insults or mortifications, stressing that national unity, reconciliation and concord are now imperatively demanded by the supreme national duty and the interests of the homeland.

It is emphasized that the local party, public, state and other functionaries do not bear a political responsibility for the renaming decision. The ill-intentioned attempts to insinuate to them that they are "ditched" or "sacrificed" are made by people who are themselves to blame for lawlessness and corruption under the Todor Zhivkov regime.

The party organizations and cadres are called upon to become clearly aware of their tasks and to live up to their national responsibilities. It is emphasized that the party is strong enough to distance itself from the gross abuses committed under Todor Zhivkov's regime and to overcome them.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo calls on the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals, on the entire Bulgarian people for support and active participation in the struggle to get over the abuses and to achieve a sound and durable unity of the people, to safeguard the integrity and the security of the country.

"We must firmly reject all kinds of nationalism, chauvinism and Islamic fundamentalism," the announcement emphasizes. "We must firmly assert the unity, the reconciliation and the concord of the Bulgarian people."

Kurdzhali BCP Secretary on Ethnic Situation

AU0301085390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Report on reponses by Milcho Milchev, first secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Kurdzhali Municipal Committee, to RABOTNICHESKO DELO readers' questions: "The Only Correct Road—The Road of Dialogue"]

[Text] In response to readers' questions sent to the Editorial Board on the evening of 1 January about the situation in Kurdzhali, we approached Milcho Milchev, first secretary of the Kurdzhali Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and requested more detailed information. This is what he said:

"The materials of the recent BCP Central Committee plenum were received with great interest in Kurdzhali. There is not a single person who is not interested in the problems that were discussed. This applies to the Communists, the members of all public organizations, and the members of the newly formed groups, such as the Committee for the Defense of National Interests, the Independent 'Podkrepa' Labor Federation, Ecoglasnost," and so on. We are striving to discuss the issues together, and this actually happened at a roundtable discussion today at 1600. We are trying to find the most effective way of resolving the problems under the conditions that exist here. We think that it is necessary to propose that the issue of overcoming the distortions in respect to the country's Turkish-speaking and Muslim population be the subject of a broad public discussion. All strata of our population must participate in this discussion in order to avoid haste in resolving separate issues. We also insist that the party organizations assess both the degree of the penalties that have been imposed and the question of whether a large part of these penalties should be quashed. We also think that the enterprises, offices, and educational institutions must act in accordance with the laws and norms that exist in our country, while at the same time, naturally, all violations must be immediately eliminated.

"A big rally took place in Kurdzhali yesterday. It took place after 0000. The above issues were raised at the rally. Now our efforts are directed toward avoiding confrontation between the people, for whatever reason, and resolving all complex issues together. We think that good results in 1990, and the successful completion of the year, can only be achieved along the road of civilized dialogue."

Kircali Protests Decision on Minority Rights

TA0201145390 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1430 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Sofia (A.A)—The southern Bulgarian town of Kircali has reacted against the winds of change blowing through the country in the wake of the downfall of former strongman Todor Zhivkov.

As many as 10,000 people turned out on Monday to demonstrate against a decision by the Communist Party's ruling Central Committee last week to reverse a policy of assimilation against the country's 1.5 million ethnic Turks.

The protest effectively raises a question mark as to the rights of Bulgaria's Turkish population, especially the 100,000 who have to date returned from Turkey after fleeing the Zhivkov regime. [passage omitted]

The demonstration in Kircali was against a decision to grant religious rights to local ethnic Turks and allow them to use their Turkish names, Bulgarian television said on Tuesday.

The protesters in Kircali, all of them Bulgarian, took to the streets on Monday demanding a referendum on the fate of the country's ethnic and religious minorities, the television said.

Kircali has traditionally been run by the most conservative of Bulgaria's local authorities.

The same day as the Kircali demonstration, 400 more Bulgarian Turks returned to Bulgaria from Turkey. Turkish officials said that the measures announced Saturday by the new Bulgarian government, which included the recognition of the religious rights of Turks, encouraged them to return.

Meanwhile, the flow of Turks from Bulgaria still continues. About 80 Turks are coming on average each day from Bulgaria.

Speakers at 29 Dec BCP Plenum Noted

AU0201113890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] was held yesterday [29 December] in the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Party Building.

A report on Item No. 1 of the agenda, on the preparations for the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, was presented by Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. The following spoke during the discussion of this item of the agenda:

Luchezar Avramov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Tourist Union; Girgin Girginov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the "Georgi Kirkov" Republican Council of the Association for Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge; Mincho Semov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and professor at the "Kliment Okhridski" University of Sofia; Boyko Dimitrov, member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; Georgi Pirinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Konstantin (Dicho) Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chief of the International Department of the BCP Central Committee; Nikolay Todorov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee for Balkan Studies, and director of the Institute of Balkan Studies; Iliya Gunchev, member of the BCP Central Committee and leader of the "Metakhim" Company in Sopot; Gancho Ganev, member of the BCP Central Committee and public figure; Stoyan Mikhaylov, member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Georgi-Dimitrov Goshkin, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Committee for Defense of Peace; Kiril Kralev, member of the BCP Central Committee and public figure; Veselin Andreev, member of the BCP Central Committee and a writer; and Ognyan Panov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and director of the Social Management Institute under the BCP Central Committee.

A report on Item No. 2 of the agenda, on overcoming the abuses committed in relation to the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population in Bulgaria, was delivered by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee. The following stated their views on this issue: Kiril Petkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy general director of the Bulgarian-Soviet Organization for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation in the Field of Mineral Fertilizers and Chemical Plant Protection Agents; Nikolay Todorov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the Bulgarian National Committee for Balkan Studies, and director of the Institute of Balkan Studies; Slavcho Trunski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Committee; Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Boris Tsvetkov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation; and Yancho Georgiev, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief of the Information and Sociology Center of the BCP Central Committee.

(The decisions on the two issues are published separately.)

The BCP Central Committee notes that there are evident signs of a certain lessening of social tension. The stimulation of active dialogue and contacts between the various sociopolitical forces contributed to this. In connection with the calls for a warning political strike, it was emphasized that the citizens of our country and the labor collectives had made their will known that this is not the way to resolve the main problems of Bulgarian society, and had spoken out in support of peaceful productive labor, constructive dialogue, and national consensus.

The Central Committee welcomes the agreement reached concerning the holding of a "roundtable" meeting with representatives of public organizations and movements and the Union of Democratic Forces. In this connection, the Central Committee gave its consent for the party's representatives at the talks to declare their readiness in principle to form a government on a broad coalition basis. Naturally, such a decision presupposes reaching in the course of the "roundtable" meetings accords that are acceptable to all participants as a basis for a nationwide consensus on the main directions for the democratization and renewal of Bulgarian society.

BCP CC Decision on 30 Jan Party Congress

AU0201110590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Decision issued by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on 29 December in Sofia]

[Text] First. Bearing in mind the dynamic development of the political situation in the country and the need to accelerate the process of renewal in the party, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] convenes the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress on 30 January 1990.

It is proposed that the congress should conduct its work under the following agenda:

1. On the state of society and the party's tasks. Political declaration. Report to be delivered by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

2. Approval of a new BCP Statute.

3. Election of the party's central leading organs.

Second. The Central Committee determines that one delegate should be elected to the congress for every 350 Communists. All the party organizations have a right to propose candidate delegates. The candidates may also be members of other party organizations.

Primary party organizations, and organizations of plants, institutions, higher education institutions, rural communities, towns, and others that have more than 300 Communists as members elect delegates to the congress directly at their meetings or conferences. The remaining delegates are elected at municipal party conferences (or general meetings).

The delegates from the party organizations in the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are to be proposed and elected at divisional accountability-election conferences.

The congressional delegates are elected by secret ballot under conditions of competition between several candidates, applying the majority vote principle.

Third. The accountability-election conferences of the municipal party organizations are to be held before 20 January 1990.

At the meetings and conferences a broad, democratic discussion should be developed on the political situation within the party and on the role, place, and tasks of every party organization in formulating and specifying the party's new political course. Today it is of vital importance for the party that the Communists should increase their political activity, unleash their initiative, and heighten their sense of responsibility for the fate of the party and socialism in Bulgaria.

In view of the short time left to prepare for the congress, at this stage it is not necessary to hold accountability-election conferences of the oblast party organizations.

Fourth. The Central Committee considers that the accountability-election campaign before the congress should achieve a decisive step toward renewing the party's cadres. Those cadres should come to the front that are capable of leading the party organizations in implementing the new tasks, and of organizing and developing their work so that they manifest their vanguard role and strengthen their links with the workers and all public organizations, movements, and structures.

Without creating an atmosphere of persecution and mistrustfulness, the party organs should rid themselves of the cadres that have discredited themselves and do not enjoy the confidence of the Communists and the public at large.

Steps should be taken to ensure a wide and democratic discussion with the Communists and people outside the party of the candidates for membership of all the party organs. The elections of secretaries and members of party bureaus should also be carried out by secret ballot, competitively, and with a choice of candidates. If the primary party organizations see fit, they may elect their secretaries directly at the meetings. It is proposed that the municipal party committees should relinquish the right granted them under the BCP Statute of approving the newly elected bureau secretaries and members.

It is recommended that the accountability-election conferences should take decisions that grant their delegates the right to represent them until the following conferences.

Fifth. The accountability-election meetings and conferences should discuss the question of separating the functions of the party organ from those of the state and economic organs and leaderships. Special attention should be paid to strengthening the authority and establishing the autonomy of the self-management organs of the labor collectives and territorial units. The party line in their activity should be laid down through the Communists who are members of these elected organs.

The accountability-election meetings and conferences should adopt appropriate decisions on this questions.

Sixth. The BCP Central Committee Politburo is charged with the task of approving a central commission to prepare for the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress. In addition to Central Committee members and candidate members, this commission should also include Communists who by their ideas, abilities, and experience may be of assistance in preparing for the congress.

The public will be informed of the composition of the commission through the mass media.

'Bulgarian Road to Europe' Announces Platform

AU3012225989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] The Coordinating Council of the Bulgarian Road to Europe Platform has circulated an announcement giving certain details about the nature and aims of the platform.

First, it is pointed out that there is no question of the platform being a faction. The Bulgarian Road to Europe platform is a variant of the policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for its renewal, de-Stalinization, and the eradication of Zhivkovism. In this sense, the European platform is an ideological trend.

Second, the date of the BCP Congress has already been fixed, so we have no time left. The key question is the election of the delegates, and our sole aim is to pledge ourselves to the organization itself, spread our platform, agitate for its support, and elect delegates on the basis of the platform's main principles.

Third, the platform is an open one. Prior to the congress, it must be enriched and expanded. Every Sunday beginning tomorrow until the end of January, we will organize coordinating meetings beginning at 1400 in front of the National Theater in Sofia.

Fourth, what else should anyone do who agrees with the platform? He or she should become an initiator of a meeting to discuss the platform and should join us by expressing agreement with the main principles. This can be done by letter or a telephone call to the editorial offices of the newspaper NARODNA MLADEZH at the address: Sofia, 47 Lenin Boulevard; as well as by personally taking part in the gathering announced for 1900 on Thursday, 4 January 1990, in Lecture Room 65 at the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University.

We stress once again that the platform rests on the following principles: a European road for the country's development; a democratic understanding of socialism;

pluralism of property ownership; de-Stalinization of the party and eradication of Zhivkovism; freedom of the individual; and national consensus, reconciliation, and nonviolence.

BCP 'Road to Europe' Questions Election Plans

AU0201211690 Sofia BTA in English
1929 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—In an address to its supporters, the Coordinating Council of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform already expressed its satisfaction with the December 29, 1989 resolutions of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. An open letter to the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CC of the BCP, however, which was made available to the BTA, too, voices considerable concern over the inadequate conditions which are being created for free inner party elections. The authors of the letter believe that the declared principle of competition among the delegate nominees does not provide equal opportunities to promote different ideological trends, factions and other formations within the party. The misgiving is expressed lest the Communists again merely go through the motions of electing delegates even in a freer atmosphere and lest the BCP again, just as in all the past years, prove a mass of uniformly thinking creatures.

The letter insists that the inner party struggle be led openly and publicly; that the congress delegates be elected on the basis of their commitment to a definite platform, including the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform; that premises be made available at the headquarters of the BCP Central Committee and of all regional and municipal BCP committees to all wings, ideological trends and factions within the BCP for work on equal footing; that all participants in the election campaign be given a fair access to the mass media and to the BCP-owned printing and photo-copying facilities and the right to use all inner party channels of information on equal terms.

It is further insisted that the CC of the BCP allocate the minimum of funds needed for the normal operation of all election campaigners.

Unions Adopt Draft on Agreement With Government

AU0201211890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] A conference was held at the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, with the participation of the federative councils, the central committees of branch trade unions, and the oblast trade union councils chairmen.

The conference discussed the draft of a general agreement with the government for 1990. It will be examined at tomorrow's meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Trade Union Central Council with the broad participation of trade union leaders and working people [word indistinct].

Journalists Rally Demands Free Media

AU2912192089 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Demands for freedom of the press and for acceleration of the democratic reforms were raised today at a rally of journalists organized by the independent societies. Journalists, the representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces Petur Beron, of the Independent Students' Societies Emil Koshlyukov, of the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa" and others spoke at the rally.

Provision of equal-right access of all political forces to the mass media, which should be guaranteed with a press act, is the chief request of the rally. The resolution calls for transition of the BTA, the radio and the television under the control of the National Assembly. Apart from that the rally insisted on full glasnost of the forthcoming round table, at which the opposition insists on holding negotiations but not consultations.

The journalists call for dialogue between the National Assembly and all political forces for the preparation of a parties bill which should be accepted at a referendum after a nationwide discussion.

Playwright Vasil Stanilov said that he will stop his hunger strike on January 1, as an agreement has been reached for discussion of the question for repealing of Article One of the Constitution (regulating the leading role of the BCP) at the special session of the National Assembly on January 15. The strike will be continued by other intellectuals till the beginning of the session.

A birth certificate has been issued here today identifying a newborn child as Osman Bayramov, it was announced at the rally.

Party Newspaper Notes 23 Dec Rallies, Meetings

AU0201145390

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 24 December on page 2 under the headline "Chronicle of Yesterday's Civic Activity" carries a 1,000-word report on rallies, meetings, and other similar events, held throughout the country on 23 December. The following events are mentioned in the report: a Sofia rally organized by the "Democratic Association of Bulgaria Teachers, which demanded the collective resignation of the leadership of the Ministry of People's Education;" A "spontaneous rally" in Plovdiv, at which Panteley Pachov, "member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee," "answered questions for one hour;" Another rally in Plovdiv, organized by the "Podkrepa" Trade Union, "at which 20 speakers spoke," and "radical demands" were voiced. Among those demands—"disbanding the primary party organizations at the places of work," and "the resignation of the BCP Central Committee and the National Assembly."

A rally of "all political forces" in Razgrad, organized by the "initiative committee of the Communists," demanded to accelerate restructuring. Member of the "Podkrepa" Trade Union in the city "canceled their rally, and took part in the rally organized by the initiative committee of the Communists."

A branch of the Ecoglasnost movement was founded in Smolyan. A meeting of the Independent Club on Democracy and Glasnost in Kyustendil organized a public rally in support of Kevork Kevorkyan's TV "Vsyaka Nedelya ["Every Sunday"] program. Finally, a meeting organized by the independent organizations in Khaskovo demanded a "democratic constitution," and "eliminating the administrative-command system."

Serviceman's Account of Sentence Doubted

AU2812140989

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 15 December on pages 1 and 3, and on 16 December on page 3, carries the two parts of an article by Colonel Ivan Ganchev entitled "Two Faces of Martyrdom." The article deals with the case of "student Emil Iliev Koshlukov, who was seen by perhaps millions of viewers on Sunday, 10 December, when he took part in the 'Vsyaka Nedelya ["Every Sunday"] program of the Bulgarian Television, and who was sentenced during his military service because of his political conviction, (at least this is what was announced). He had been found guilty of reading and disseminating Zhelyo Zhelev's book 'Fascism.'"

Col Ganchev takes issue with Koshlukov's account of why he was sentenced and presents a different version of Koshlukov's trial. In the first, 1,500-word part of his article, Col Ganchev accuses Koshlukov of "telling lies," and maintains that Koshlukov was not sentenced for his political convictions, but for "inflicting a wound to himself with the purpose of avoiding military service, something also called desertion, and punishable in time of war everywhere and always by death."

Col Ganchev says that Koshlukov, who graduated from the English High School, "like many other youths who have graduated from 'elite' schools, entered military service unprepared." He maintains that Koshlukov "simulated mental disorder" in order to be discharged from the Army. Col Ganchev cites accounts of Koshlukov's friends and a military doctor to prove this point. However, he also quotes parts of the verdict, according to which Koshlukov had also been accused of "disseminating anti-democratic ideology and slanderous claims affecting the state and public order on the basis of Article 108, paragraph 54 of the Penal Code," and sentenced to "4 years of prison." In addition, Koshlukov was also sentenced "to 6 years of prison" for "inciting to insurrection, insubordination, and desertion."

In the 800-word second part of the article, carried by NARODNA ARMIYA on 16 December, Col Ganchev quotes Koshlukov's friends to the effect that Koshlukov had talked with other soldiers about the possibility of "taking over the unit," "liquidating the commanders," "escaping to Yugoslavia," and "simulating" various diseases.

Col Ganchev admits that Koshlukov "was summoned by the organs of the militia in Pazardzhik and warned to stop disseminating pornographic magazines and the book 'Fascism,' but argues that this has nothing to do with what happened later in the barracks."

Army Daily's 'Open Tribune' on Developments

AU2912132189

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 28 December on pages 1 and 3 carries the 3,000-word rubric "Open Tribune," which contains articles and letters related to topical developments in Bulgaria.

On page 1 the newspaper carries a 500-word untitled editorial article "We Do Not Have the Right To Make More Mistakes," which deals with the activity of the "Podkrepa" Independent Labor Federation. It points out that "many of the letters received by the newspaper ask whether 'Podkrepa' is a trade union or a political movement." The editorial finds a clear "political nuance" in Podkrepa's appeals, and for its part asks the following: "Since recent declarations of 'Podkrepa' itself present the organization as a political formation, is it not appropriate that the organization relinquish its trade union program and the probable material and financial assistance it would receive (or is already receiving?) from foreign trade union centers? Everyone would agree that if the 'roundtable' that will take place after the new year is to succeed, one should play with 'open cards' at the talks."

On pages 1 and 3 the newspaper carries the 500-word "Letter to Comrade Petur Mladenov and the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee" from the "party organization of the Pernik 'Stomana' company (the former 'Lenin' Metallurgy Plant)." The workers express their concern that many slogans related to democracy and environmental protection are becoming almost exclusively "slogans of the opposition." They point out that "there is an alarming delay in working out the drafts of the new political platform and party charter and program based on the principles of democracy and human socialism," and express "their concern with the fact that there have been no fundamental changes in the work of the BCP Central Committee apparatus and the BCP oblast and municipal committees." Consequently, the workers propose "to decisively reduce and renew the BCP Central Committee apparatus," and "dissolve the BCP oblast leaderships," which "did not justify their existence." In addition the workers demand "to remove the contradictions in the legislature," and "immediately begin a trial of those who are responsible for the present situation in the country and the BCP."

On page 3 the newspapers carries several letters from readers, military employees, and military units, totaling 1,700 words, reporting "delays in the implementation of the plan," proposing "to the Bulgarian Television to directly relay the 'roundtable' talks," and urging "Podkrepa" "to be more patient with its demands."

The "Open Tribune" rubric ends with another 300-word editorial article entitled "'The Koshlukov Case'—Why This Is the End." The editorial deals with the case of Emil Koshlukov, who claimed in the 10 December "Vsyaka Nedelya" (Every Sunday) television program, that he was sentenced to prison during his military service for "disseminating Zhelyo Zhelev's book 'Fascism.'" This claim was rejected by Colonel Ivan Ganchev in a two-part article carried by NARODNA ARMIYA on 15 and 16 December, in which he accused Koshlukov of "telling lies," and presented a different version of his trial, namely, that he had been sentenced for insubordination and "inflicting a wound on himself." In this editorial article, NARODNA ARMIYA points out that "On 18 December Koshlukov visited the Editorial Board," and representatives of the Editorial Board "expressed readiness to publish his reply to Ganchev's article." On 25 December Koshlukov "brought only the first part of his reply" to the newspaper. On that occasion he was told that "no self-respecting editorial board could publish unfinished articles." The editorial asserts that "since the newspaper daily receives many new letters," it would not appropriate to deal any longer "with a private case," rather than publish new material, and, therefore, the newspaper considers the case closed.

Statements at BCP Plenum of 11-13 Dec Noted

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[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 13-19 December carries statements of participants in the 11-13 December plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, "whose original text has been abbreviated by about one-quarter by the speakers themselves."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 13 December carries the following statements:

On page 3 the 1,800-word statement of Ivan Tenev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of 'Electronics' Association," read at the 11 December session of the plenum. Tenev points out that Bulgaria "is experiencing the beginning of a deep political, economic, ideological, and moral crisis," and that "the decisions of the last plenums have not contributed to resolving it." Then he surveys the development of the Bulgarian electronic industry and its trade exchange with the socialist countries. Speaking about "the problems of Bulgarian electronics," he lists the following: "Disproportions in its development, which increased the branch's dependence on foreign currency;" failure to "satisfy the population's need of consumer goods; disproportional participation in international markets; halting the pace of technically renewing the production capacities;" the recent tumultuous developments in the USSR and other socialist countries, which narrowed the markets;" and "the oppressing influence of the former general secretary."

Further on Tenev points out the necessity of developing "economic legislature" and "broadly separating the party from the state." In conclusion he demands "to work out and implement a program on leading the country out of the crisis.

On page 3 the newspaper carries the 1,200-word statement of Georgi Grigorov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee," read at the 11 December session of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum.

Grigorov praises the Politburo report read at the plenum and stresses that "the report is a proof of the fact that the people will continue to have confidence in us." Speaking about the situation in the country after 10 November he says:

"Sofia is boiling. There is a high degree of tension. However, this fact represents not only an alarming phenomenon, but also a vital one. This a healthy situation, despite the fact that it conceals traps and dangers."

Grigorov speaks later about the paucity of party cadres, and says: "Who are the young ideological cadres of the party, who are the professionals, who are capable of seeing the macrolevel of the economy, as it was pointed out at one of the plenums? Who are our ideological cadres? Perhaps there are such young cadres, however, but they all have been molded in one image and fashion." In this context he demands "to form a commission on selecting cadres, who will implement real restructuring."

Grigorov's statement is followed by a brief remark by Aleksandur Lilov, who chaired the session. Lilov says that "a note has just been received by Comrade Georgi Grigorov," in which he asks to read at the plenum the decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat decision of 19 November 1987 on disbanding the primary party organization at the Political Economy Department of the Kliment Okhridski University, and points out that the BCP Sofia City Committee had dealt with the issue "at a special instruction of the Central Committee." Lilov says that "there is no reason not to do this," and reads the following:

"Transcript of Protocol No. 950A of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat of 19 November 1987.

"In connection with the higher education establishment party conference conducted at Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University, it was decided:

"To adopt the information of the first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee about the accountability-election conference of the higher education establishment party conference at Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University.

"Because of politically incorrect and theoretically unfounded statements, made by some delegates to the conference, we instruct the BCP Sofia City Committee:

"1. To disband the primary party organizations at the "Political Economy" and "Rhetorics" Departments of the Social Sciences Faculty of Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University.

"2. To review the party status and impose party sanctions on Professors Nikola Grigorov Popov, Nedyalko Belev Georgiev, and Vasil Ivanov Vasilev, and Docent Nikolay Kirilov Vasilev, and propose to the Ministry of National Education to adopt administrative measures against them.

"3. To organize a review of the combat ability of the primary party organizations, Communists, and cadres at the Kliment Okhridski University and adopt specific measures on strengthening the unity of the higher education establishment party organization and the entire collective, as well as additional measures for quickly resolving certain acute problems of the university's material base."

Lilov describes the decision as "one of the very sad documents of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat," and points out that while the decision had been adopted by the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, "the responsibility of the BCP Sofia City Organization cannot be ignored."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 13 December on page 3 carries the 1,000-word statement by David Elazar, "member of the BCP Central Committee and director of the Institute on BCP History," read at the 11 December session of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum. Elazar completely devotes his statement to the role of the Institute on BCP History in researching the activity of the "operational bureau" on the eve of 9 September 1944, and on the "great pressure applied personally on him and on the institute in 1971 to prepare and publish the biography of Todor Zhivkov on his 60th birthday." He describes his "determined resistance" to the publication of the autobiography, and the role of Milko Balev, "who interfered directly and removed certain critical remarks from the biography."

On page 3 the same newspaper carries the 1,400-word statement of Academician Vladimir Topencharov, "member of the BCP Central Committee," included in a "letter to the Central Committee through the Politburo," and read at the 12 December session of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum by Andrey Lukanov. Topencharov devotes his statement to the issue of "party morale in past and at present." He recommends to "continue and quickly complete the cleansing [prochistvane] of the party apparatus from especially compromised comrades;" reduce the party apparatus; and "fully and openly inform the public about those changes and their motives." In conclusion he imparts thoughts on the correctness of socialism, warns "to refrain from identifying socialism with its distortions," and urges the party to continue its march forward.

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 1,700-word statement of Kiril Petkov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian-USSR Organization on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in the Sphere of Mineral Fertilizers and Chemical Means of Vegetation Protection," read at the 12 December session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum. Petkov devotes his statement to Bulgaria's chemical industry and cooperation with the USSR in this sphere. He points out that "his branch is in a poor situation," and in this context mentions "the decreased reliability of the production capacities and frequent accidents; the decreased market competition ability; lost of faith and apathy in separate collectives and deformations in thinking and acting on the part of certain leaders and leading groups; the growing contradiction" between the real sanitary-hygienic situation and the regulated norms in this sphere.

Further on Petkov proposes "to elect in a fully democratic manner new leading organs of the companies, chairmen of the boards of managers, and general directors." He demands to work out a basic concept on improving the situation of the chemical industry, and proposes in conclusion "to hold the extraordinary party congress even earlier than on 26 March 1989."

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 1,200-word statement of Georgi Kostov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and general manager of the Gabrovo Technological Institute on Plastic Processing of Materials," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Kostov proposes to be "more flexible with the so-called 'ideological compromises.'" In this context he suggests "to recognize, and even adopt and apply certain elements, premises, and actions considered 'taboo' and 'ideological retreats' until now," but refrains from listing them.

Further on Kostov speaks about the "concentrated state monopoly" that has been created in Bulgaria. He supports the repeal of Article 1 of the Bulgarian Constitution and points out that "the existence of other parties in Bulgaria will constantly keep the BCP combat-ready and in an alert state. Thus we shall constantly struggle for our leading role and will achieve it in practice." In addition he proposes to restructure banking in Bulgaria, work out easier conditions of forming new companies, "reduce the pace of constructing huge national projects," and "immediately discuss the desolation of agriculture in Bulgaria."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 13 December on page 4 carries the 2,800-word statement by Luchezar Avramov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Tourist Union," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Avramov describes his own biography and the conditions that favor the emergence of a personality cult. He laments the fact that "the style and methods of work of the Central Committee and the entire party forced us to keep silent and agree to the general secretary's arbitrary acts and outrages," but justifies it to a certain degree with the "fear" of the party members and the willingness to "maintain the party unity as a prerequisite of marching forward."

Avramov speaks later about the necessity of eliminating the conditions and practices that lead toward the emergence of the personality cult, and in this context mentions "the elimination of the operational-instructive and administrative functions of the party." He describes several cases, which illustrate "Todor Zhivkov's absolute power," among them, various changes in economic policy, which contradicted official documents and reports.

In the final part of his statement, Avramov surveys the state of the Bulgarian economy and in this context he proposes "to create an economy based on the market principle, free of bureaucratic interference."

On page 5 the same newspaper carries the 1,800-word statement by Yancho Georgiev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and head of BCP Central Committee Information-Sociological Center," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Georgiev speaks about the situation in the primary party organizations and describes it as "not good." He says that "those organizations are incapable of answering the questions that are addressed to them," by the confused party members. He describes the flow of information in the party, and in this context says the following:

"The stream of information from the top to the bottom was 'plentiful,' but consisted mainly of concepts, memorandums, reflections, decisions, and instructions. There also were bulletins—'red,' 'blue,' and 'white' bulletins, the color depending on the degree of confidentiality. They contained, for example, reports on the situation in Poland, the split of the Spanish Communist Party, Hungary's foreign debt, and so forth. However, in the bulletins there was no information about Bulgaria's acute problems, such as our foreign debt, the debts of the Agroindustrial Complex, the subsidized enterprises, the standard of living, inflation, and so forth."

Georgiev attributes the inability of the primary party organizations to answer questions to the aforementioned lack of sufficient information on the situation in the country. He points out the change that has taken place since Petur Mladenov was elected general secretary, and says:

"The new party leadership assured us that things will be called by their real names. Just 2 says after entering the Central Committee building, Comrade Petur Mladenov called me personally, and said that he wants all information to be sent to him, even when it is completely negative, and even when it contains curses addressed at the general secretary."

In conclusion, he recommends to "thoroughly study and respect public opinion" as a precondition of strengthening party relations with the masses, "restoring their confidence, and establishing real democracy in our society."

On page 5 the same newspaper carries the 3,600-word statement by Evgeni Apostolov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy minister of public health and social welfare," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Apostolov devotes most of his statement to the situation of health protection in Bulgaria, and lists the following problems: child mortality, which while decreasing is still "far behind the level of the developed countries;" "unfavorable tendencies" in mortality in Bulgaria; life expectancy being frozen at the same level "for 10-12 years," and so forth.

Apostolov lists the following factors that contributed to the poor state of health protection in Bulgaria: "Neglecting the social sphere at the expense of the economic branches; failing to resolve essential ecological problems; the alarming situation of the social welfare institutions; the low wages of Bulgarian medical workers;" and "the arbitrary attitude of the former chairman of the Medical Academy."

In conclusion, he suggests to "assert democracy in relation to health protection workers and collectives, improving the qualifications of the cadres," and "modernizing Bulgaria pharmaceutics industry" as preconditions of improving the state of health protection in the country.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 14 December carries the following statements of participants in the plenum:

On page 5 the newspaper carries the 1,800-word statement of Konstantin Rusinov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy minister of foreign economic relations," read at the 12 December session of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum. Rusinov discusses "the sharp deterioration of the national revenue in 1988 and 1989," and lists the following causes of this situation: "The elimination of the okrugs and the creation of the oblasts and hundreds of municipalities, something that was done without consultations with the competent scientific institutes and by absolutely ignoring the local party and state leaderships," and "the obsolete production funds." He proposes to reform the tax system and exempt means directed to investments from taxes, adopt a long-range plan on constructing agricultural infrastructure, and training qualified cadres. In addition he suggests "to boldly open the door for foreign investments, attract capital," and "develop scientific research activity." In conclusion, he proposes to improve the situation of power supply and establish a Ministry of Power Supply and Resources.

On page 5 the same newspaper carries the 1,300-word statement by Dimitur Popov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Varna Oblast People's Council," read at the 12 December session of the plenum.

Popov describes the economic situation in Varna Oblast, and in this context mentions "the solid losses" of the Devnya Industrial Transportation Complex, "which were a secret carefully guarded by the Ministry of Chemical Industry," and the poor state of agriculture on the oblast. He proposes to adopt urgent measures to improve agriculture in Bulgaria, among them, "higher income, private and cooperative farms, and normal social infrastructure." In conclusion, Popov expresses support of the Politburo report and the plenum draft resolution.

On page 5 the same newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Academician Ilcho Dimitrov, "member of the BCP Central Committee."

Dimitrov surveys party history after 9 September 1944, and the conditions that produced the personality cult in Bulgaria. He draws historical parallels between Zhivkov's regime and the regime of the Tsars Ferdinand and Boris and says: "The personal regime of Ferdinand brought two national catastrophes to Bulgaria. Boris dictatorships brought the country to the verge of the third. Zhivkov's authoritarianism brought us to the present crisis, from which we cannot find the way out."

Dimitrov later describes the "exceptionally difficult situation" of Bulgaria's intellectuals and Zhivkov's interference in intellectual activity. In conclusion he says:

"We must remember and know that Bulgaria has existed before the BCP and can exist without the BCP. Bulgaria—our dear motherland—is the most important thing for all of us. We believe in the party and we serve it, however, if it cannot be up to the level of the requirements, the people will seek another solution, and they will be justified to do so."

On pages 5 and 6 the same newspaper carries the 1,600-word statement by Stoyan Zhulev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian Association on Tourism and Leisure," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Zhulev surveys "the situation created by the administrative- command system" in Bulgaria, especially in the economic sphere, and proposes the following measures for improving the economic situation: "To confirm by judicial acts the independence and self-management rights of the enterprises; to clearly separate relations between the state and the producers of goods and services;" to conduct a tax reform, and attract "capable people" to the sphere of material production. He devotes the final part of his statement to the need to develop "economic tourism" in Bulgaria.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 14 December on pages 6 and 7 carries the 2,000-word statement by Stefan Angelov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Coordination Committee on the Complex Study of Man at the Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences," read at the 12 December session of the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum.

Angelov denounces "Zhivkov's anti-Leninist methods," his refusal to listen to the opinion of other people, and his reports, which "did not correspond to the socialist realities." He describes "the repression" of the members of the Ruse ecological group, and "the numerous deformations in political power, economic relations, and the intellectual sphere." In this context, he recalls that "regardless of the difficult situation, to the credit of our science, individual representatives of philosophy, sociology, political economy, and other sciences opposed Todor Zhivkov's Stalinist dogmatism and theoretical views."

Angelov later points out that "there still are no sufficient documents about how the repressions were organized during the period of the personality cult, and who was responsible for this," and in this context demands to reveal "the real role of the BCP Central Committee April Plenum," and "the positions of the comrades who spoke at that plenum."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 15 December carries the following statements read at the plenum:

On page 4 the newspaper carries the 1,800-word statement by Grudi Atanasov, "public figure and party veteran." Grudi Atanasov, who is not a member of the BCP Central Committee, expresses gratitude for the invitation "to attend a plenum for the first time since the 10th BCP Congress." He describes "the pain of the party veterans," and describes his own the past activities, as well as those of Anton Yugov and Georgi Chankov, "the only 3 persons who have been Central Committee members before 9 September 1944 and attend the current plenum." He expresses support for Petur Mladenov, denounces the privileges of top party members, and demands "to bring Milko Balev and Mircho Spasov to court." In conclusion, he invites "all people who can provide information about the outrages committed by Todor Zhivkov" to submit their information and reveal their memories.

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 1,000-word statement by Goran Ninov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive

Committee of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast People's Council," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Ninov describes "the crushing power of Zhivkov's vengeance and hatred" that was inflicted on the Vratsa area "after 1965, when a group of participants in the struggle against fascism in Vratsa area, led by Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, made an attempt to remove the totalitarian government." Ninov reveals no details about this attempt. He describes the poor state of economic in his region, and especially agriculture, "which is on the verge of a catastrophe," and blames centralized planning for the situation. In this context, Ninov proposes to introduce "equal existence of private ownership of land," as an effective means of improving agriculture. He devotes the rest of his speech to the need to improve "social conditions and the standard of living" in Mikhaylovgrad Oblast in an attempt to save the villages, "which are in a pitiful condition."

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 1,000-word statement by Krustyu Stanilov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the 'Agrarian and Construction Machine Building' Association," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Stanilov wants the plenum "to adopt a clear position on the issue of guilt and responsibility," and points out that "this will contribute to the faster intellectual purification of the party." He proposes "to immediately introduce the principle of two terms of office for leading party posts."

Turning to the economy, Stanilov proposes "to create a commission of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, and economic specialists, that will clearly assess the present economic situation and introduce at the Politburo a comprehensive project on restructuring in this sphere."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 15 December on page 5 carries the 1,400-word statement by Atanas Dimitrov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the National Assembly," read at the 12 December session of the plenum.

As many speakers before him, Dimitrov also speaks on Bulgaria's economic situation and the "urgent measures" that must be adopted in this sphere. He proposes "to resolve the issue with the low salaries and pensions and really guarantee a minimum income to every man." Dimitrov suggests "to begin first of all by resolving the pressing problems of agriculture, the food industry, and light industry, the local state and cooperative industry, and consumer services." He recalls "the one-man subjective leadership of Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov and their companions, who to a large degree destroyed our agriculture." He later describes the poor situation of various industrial and agricultural branches. In conclusion, Atanas Dimitrov proposes to adopt a new election law at the National Assembly, reduce the number of National Assembly members, and work out a draft of a new constitution "by mid-1990."

On page 5 the same newspaper carries a 1,800-word report on the statement by Lazar Donchev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Lovech Municipal Committee." Donchev speaks about the need "to tell the people the whole truth about the party and the state." He demands "to decisively apply the principles of socialist justice, which were strongly deformed in the past." Donchev connects the process of restoring the confidence in the party with improving the economic situation, and says, "we must restore the confidence and respect of the people by first of all supplying them with bread, milk, meat, cheese, shoes, clothes, and everything else that is necessary." He maintains that "Bulgaria's economy cannot stabilize without first stabilizing agriculture as a source of foodstuffs, important raw materials, and foreign currency." He urges to "quickly adopt a law on the land and agrarian production," and "distribute land for private use." In conclusion, he proposes to convene a special BCP Central Committee plenum to deal with the situation of Bulgarian villages.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 16 December carries the following statements of participants in the plenum:

On page 6 the newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Elena Lagadinova, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Committee of Bulgarian Women," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Lagadinova urges "to begin immediately an accountability-election campaign, conduct the party congress already in February," and "hold elections in April." She proposes "to abolish all privileges of the responsible cadres that have been ousted," and "discontinue the practice of preserving their wages, official cars, and so forth."

Lagadinova devotes most of her speech to the situation of Bulgarian women and promises that "the BCP members among the members of the Movement of Bulgarian Women will do everything possible to stir the great energy of the women and direct it toward the course of restructuring and support for the new party leadership."

On page 6 the same newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Nikola Popov, "rector of Sofia's 'Kliment Okhridski' University," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Popov, who is not a Central Committee member, expresses gratitude for the invitation to take part in the plenum. He describes his "disappointment" when, while attending two Central Committee plenums "15 or 16 years ago," he saw that "50 percent of the time was used to praise Todor Zhivkov."

Turning to the activity of the party and Komsomol organizations in the Sofia University, Popov describes them as "dead organizations," and speaks about the need to activate them. He points out the following reasons for the poor state of Bulgarian economy: "The ineffective economic structures that exist in Bulgaria; the similar situation that exists in all socialist countries, with which Bulgaria has direct relations; the growing gap" between Bulgaria and the developed capitalist countries; and "the inability to adapt the elementary methods of management of market economy." In addition, Popov criticizes "the ineffective wage system and generally, the system of distributing the material assets." Turning directly to Mladenov, Popov says:

"Comrade Mladenov, you should not receive a salary of 1,800 leva. This is too much against the background of the existing prices in Bulgaria."

Consequently, Popov proposes a maximum salary of 1,200 leva. The final part of his statement is devoted to the November 1987 Secretariat decision to disband the party organization of the Sofia University "Political Economy" and "Rhetorics" Departments. In this context, he demands to observe in future the party statute and prevent the Politburo and Secretariat from interfering with the work of the Central Control-Auditing Commission.

On page 6 the same newspaper carries the 1,000-word statement by Tsvetana Maneva, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and actress at the 'Tear and Laughter' Drama Theater," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. After speaking in general terms about the virtues of freedom and democracy, Maneva demands "to publish the shorthand records of the BCP Central Committee April Plenum." She points out that "a very modest place" has been devoted in the Politburo report to the informal organizations, and in this context urges "to open a dialogue with those groups," something, which would be "a manifestation of political pluralism."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 17 December carries the following statements of participants in the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum:

On page 3 the newspaper carries the 2,500-word statement by Ivan Iliev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman and chief scientific secretary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences," read at the 12 December session of the Plenum. He surveys Bulgaria's economic crisis and blames the "totalitarian-administrative system" for it. Consequently, he demands "to dismount the totalitarian-administrative system by separating the party from the state and the government." The final part of his speech is devoted to restructuring in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and its activity in helping Bulgarian economy to overcome its crisis.

On page 3 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Lazar Prichkapov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the BCP Sofia Oblast Committee," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. He expresses "support for the Politburo we elected," as well as his joy that "we do not have to whisper any longer." He speaks about the "need to renew the party" and "restore the people's confidence." Turning to the economic situation in Sofia Oblast, he points out that the economy "is in a dead-end street," agriculture "is suffocating because of poison thirst," and environmental protection "represents a sad picture." Prichkapov surveys in detail the situation of various economic enterprises in Sofia Oblast, stresses their poor situation, and says that "it is high time that somebody answers the question why those enterprises have actually been constructed."

On pages 3 and 4 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Vasil Mruchkov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Mruchkov expresses his "conviction of the necessity to eliminate the administrative-command system." He describes "the thirst for justice" in Bulgarian society and "as chief prosecutor assumes his share of the responsibility" for the "serious and painful problems that have accumulated in the application of laws." Mruchkov primarily blames the "merging of state and party organs" for the "distortions in applying laws" in Bulgaria, and points out the role of the National Assembly in overcoming this situation.

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Mincho Semov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and professor at Sofia University," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. At the outset, Semov says that he will make seven specific proposals, which are: To hold the party congress "at the end of January and the beginning of February; to democratize the process of admitting new members to the party; to democratize party life and structure;" to elect a new RABOTNICHESKO DELO and NOVO VREME chief editors; to "reject the principle of democratic centralism in party life;" to set 65 as the age limit for responsible party and state posts; and to "separate the functions of the party and the state."

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 2,500-word statement by Evgeni Uzunov, "first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Uzunov, who is not a member of the BCP Central Committee, surveys the functions of the Komsomol "and its future fate," and proposes "to eliminate the nomenclature in the Komsomol," "hold democratic elections," and "give more rights to the Komsomol primary organizations."

On pages 4 and 5, the same newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Zhivko Zhivkov, "member of the BCP Central Committee," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Zhivkov speaks about the "tests that the party will face in the near future," and lists them as: the manner in which the people "will understand and accept the decisions that we are adopting here," and "the forthcoming party congress." He stresses the importance of holding "free and democratic elections," and in this context stresses the importance of restructuring the Fatherland Front.

On page 5 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Ivan Shpatov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of domestic trade," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. He recalls "the law on the development of human history," according to which "before being able to deal with politics, science, religion, and so forth, the people must have food and drink, and a place to live." Consequently, he analyzes the importance of intensifying the production of consumer goods and improving agriculture. Shpatov proposes a wage reform and stresses that "appropriate wages is an issue of life and death from the economic point of view." He urges the encouragement of "competition between the producers and the trade companies in order to better satisfy the needs of the market in anything related to consumer goods and services."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on page 5 carries the 2,400-word statement by Nikola Tsonev, "member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the BCP Lovech Oblast Committee," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Tsonev describes the situation in Lovech Oblast and stresses that "the labor collectives and primary party organizations greet the changes in the membership of the Politburo and Central Committee as justified and extremely necessary." He surveys Bulgaria's economic situation and demands changers in the tax system, agriculture, and food industry. For this purpose he proposes "to direct 25 percent of the capital investments to agriculture and those industrial branches that ensure agriculture's material-technical supply." In conclusion he surveys the poor state of environmental protection in Lovech Oblast.

On pages 5 and 6 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Grozyu Grozev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, brigade leader at the Plovdiv Construction-Assembly Combine, and Hero of Socialist Labor," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Grozev speaks about the situation in his enterprises and denounces its "excessive administration." He points out that the wages of the administrative employees have increased "at least 50 percent, and in some cases even 100 percent," while the wages of the workers have not increased. "This causes the indignation of the workers," Grozev says.

On page 6 the same newspaper carries the 1,800-word statement by Georgi Iliev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, brigade leader at the 'Georgi Dimitrov' Shipyard in Varna, and Hero of Socialist Labor," read at the 12 December session of the plenum. Iliev expresses his "concern with the activity of the Bulgarian Trade Unions," and in this context points out: "Defending the interests of the workers is the basic functions of the trade unions. Our trade unions did not do this, because the same people led them year after year." He demands to release from the Central Committee and other leading organs "people who are not doing their job, even if this is a result of their age."

On page 6 the same newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Boris Tsvetkov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Committee on European Security and Cooperation," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Tsvetkov surveys the "unprecedented political activity of the people" following the BCP Central Committee November plenums. Against this background, he describes the "apathy, alienation, and lack of confidence," that characterized the country in the past, and that cause "social tension that recently became almost uncontrollable." He wants the plenum "to precisely analyze the present situation" and adopt appropriate decisions. He proposes "to purge the party of people who are not worthy of its confidence," but warns to refrain from turning this into a "'witch hunt,' because many honest and devoted people are working in the party." He speaks about the importance of establishing a law-governed state, and in this context proposes "to establish a constitutional court, which will assess the conformity of the laws with the Constitution."

On page 6 the same newspaper carries the 2,200-word statement by Petur Dyulgerov, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Dyulgerov, who in the meantime resigned from his post as candidate member of the Politburo, says that "he will speak only about the situation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions," and defines it as "complex and fateful." He points out that the "situation becomes even more complex because of the emergence of trade union pluralism," and says that "the trade union organs lost a lot of time and opportunities." Dyulgerov later says that "the Trade Unions will support the party decisions and policy if they correspond with the interests of the working people."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 18 December carries the following statements read at the plenum:

On page 3 the newspaper carries the statement by Svetlin Rusev, "member of the BCP Central Committee, painter," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Rusev speaks about the fact that "the nation is disunited," and that "the people have lost confidence in the party." He sees the Politburo report read at the plenum by Petur Mladenov as a "democratic and civilized step," aimed at correcting this situation. He adheres to repealing Article 1 of the Constitution and says that "the party must be worthy of its leading role and not receive it as a present." He calls on the party to begin a "political dialogue and real political struggle." The final part of his statement is devoted to the "humiliation and obliteration of the personality" he experienced as a result of his activity for environmental protection in Ruse.

On page 3 the newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Ivan Maslarov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and public figure," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Maslarov describes past Central

Committee plenums, at which the members were divided into two groups: the first supporting and praising Todor Zhivkov, the members of the second "remaining silent, because they were afraid, and did not want to lose their privileges." Those plenum "were utilized by Todor Zhivkov to strengthen his position," Maslarov says.

Maslarov later describes his own plight after "being expelled from the party for having objected to the Politburo decision to punish Comrades Dobri Terpeshev, Georgi Chankov, and Yonko Panov." In this context he says that he "does not believe Comrade Georgi Tanev [minister of internal affairs], who said at the 8 December plenum that telephones have not been tapped. Other comrades also do not believe him." Maslarov defines as "shameless" the claim that "Zhivkov led the insurrection in Sofia on 9 September 1944." Maslarov also accuses writer Lyubomir Levchev of glorifying the Zhivkov family. In conclusion he speaks about the necessity to unite the party.

Maslarov's statement is followed by 200-word "explanation" by Lyubomir Levchev on page 3, in which he says that the biography of Lyudmila Zhivkova, he wrote, "was commissioned by the BCP Central Committee Secretariat," and that he "never wrote any poems about Todor Zhivkov."

On page 4 the same newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Boris Todorov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy minister of national defense," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. He expresses "total approval" of Mladenov's report, "support" for the proposal to repeal Article 1 of the Bulgarian Constitution, and "agreement" to holding an extraordinary BCP congress on 26 March 1990. Since "many of the comrades who already spoke covered many of the things" Todorov wanted to say, he restricts himself to several issues: "To quickly restore the party's authority and influence among the people; to disassociate with the vicious administrative-command methods of Todor Zhivkov;" and to improve party work with the masses. Turning to the "merciless political struggle" that the party must conduct, Todorov says:

It must be clear that a part of the informal organizations are striving to push our development to follow the script of the GDR and the CSSR. It would be a great disaster if we allow it.

The final part of Todorov statement is devoted to the "need to unite the nation."

On pages 4 and 5 the newspaper carries the 3,000-word statement by Khristaki Kunev, "candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Albania," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. He speaks about the "necessity to unite the people" and "undermine the foundations of elements that are trying to assault the achievements of socialism and the fact that there is no alternative to socialism in Bulgaria." He describes the "expulsion, isolation, and branding of those who directly or indirectly opposed Zhivkov and tried to resist."

Kunev also speaks about the "necessity to eliminate the administrative-command methods," and "conducting radical reforms in economy." In this sphere, he recommends utilizing the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 18 December carries the following statements read at the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum:

On page 5 the 1,200-word statement by Asen Khadzhiolov, "minister of national education," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Khadzhiolov speaks about the importance of the scientific-technical revolution. He asserts that "Bulgaria must joint this revolution and develop mutually beneficial production sharing in science, technology, and production with the developed countries, and first of all with the USSR and the socialist countries." Most of his statement is devoted to the necessary educational reform that will facilitate the success of the scientific-technical revolution in Bulgaria.

On page 5 the newspaper carries the 1,600-word statement by Sava Dulbokov, "member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front," read at the 13 December session of the plenum. Dulbokov accuses Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov of "crudely interfering" in economic activity, arbitrarily changing economic data, and so forth. In this context he says that "in 1988 it was announced that the country's national income has increased 6.2 percent, while conclusive data shows that the increase only was 2.4 percent." Dulbokov says that "thinking that Bulgaria must develop metallurgy on a great scale, Zhivkov and his first associates insisted on the construction of new capacities near Burgas." Thus "great damage" was done to the country, Dulbokov says. He also stresses the necessity of producing more consumer goods, and again returns to Zhivkov's and Filipov's interference in the work of the economic ministries. In this context he says that "Grisha Filipov had his people in various ministries, who kept him informed." This information was used for "slandering and compromising many responsible and meritorious comrades." "It is well-known that Todor Zhivkov used to manipulate the cadres, personally and through his associates, as he pleased. The result was the scandalous promotion to responsible posts of totally unfit persons, who were close to him, something that negatively affected the party and the people." The final part of Dulbokov's statement is devoted to the need to improve the activity of the Fatherland Front.

On pages 5 and 6 the newspaper carries the 2,000-word statement by Mako Dakov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the All-People Committee of the Movement for Environmental Protection and Regeneration at the Fatherland Front National Council," read at the 13 December session of the BCP Central

Committee 11-13 December Plenum. Dakov completely devotes his speech to the issue of environmental protection in Bulgaria. He says that "numerous documents related to environmental protection have been adopted until now, but they have not been implemented." Against this background he draws a alarming picture of Bulgaria's ecological situation, and mentions the "air pollution in Sofia, Pernik, Dimitrovgrad, Sredna Gora, Razlog, Burgas, Varna, Devnya, Pleven, Kurdzhali, and Vratsa," and the fact that "75 percent of Bulgarian river beds have been polluted." In conclusion he urges immediate measures for improving the state of environmental protection in Bulgaria.

(Mako Dakov's statement is followed by the following note: "At the BCP Central Committee 11-13 December Plenum it was decided to publish in RABOTNICHESKO DELO all statements that have been submitted in written form. We begin their publication.")

Party Daily Discussion on Restructuring

AU2612105389

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 December on pages 3 through 7 carries a 20,000-word rubric entitled "Discussion of Restructuring," which includes the following main articles:

On page 3 a 2,800-word article by Dimitur Ananiev entitled "Toward New Model," devoted to the need of creating a new model for the Bulgarian Communist Party, whose main characteristics must be: "An open party, that will represent the interests of all people; a party based on a liberal and humane ideology" and "democratic elements; a party that respects the will of the people and the opinions of its opponents;" and "a party that has been separated from the state, economic, and public organizations."

On page 3 a 1,100-word article by Georgi Markov entitled "By Democratic Means—United and Even Stronger." The author suggests that "an extraordinary party congress must be convened, because it is only the party congress that has the right to work out a new political course of the party."

On page 4 a 1,500-word article by Stefan Donchev, entitled "Without 'Tophats'—Power to the Producers." The author proposes to expand the rights of the economic enterprises in an attempt to improve the Bulgarian economy.

On page 4 a 1,600-word article by Emil Nikolov, entitled "From a Farmer Ordered Around to a Real Farmer-Manager." The author lists the maladies of Bulgarian agriculture and demands to provide Bulgarian agrarians with the "resources that will guarantee material and intellectual conditions of expanded production and of dynamic utilization of the scientific-technical progress."

On page 5 a 1,300-word article by Lyubomir Rozenshtayn, entitled "Bearskin Rug," dealing with Zhivkov's hunting reservations.

Page 6 is completely devoted to readers' letters on various aspects of restructuring in Bulgaria.

Page 7 is devoted to the 5,000-word report on the results of an "express sociological research," conducted on 25 November among "1,513 members of 127 labor collectives," which shows an overwhelming support of restructuring in Bulgaria.

Army Daily Interviews Human Rights Activist

AU2512195389

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 8 December on page 4 carries a 1,000-word interview with Yuliy Bakhnev, "responsible secretary of the Committee on Human Rights in Bulgaria."

Bakhnev surveys the history of the Committee on Human Rights since its establishment on 3 June 1978, stressing that despite the fact that the committee has existed for more than 10 years, "it really started to function in a full-fledged manner in December 1988." He describes the organizations as a "nongovernmental and independent public organization, which has 60 members."

The organization's goals, as described by Bakhnev, include "facilitating the improvement of legislation and turning Bulgaria into a law-governed state; bringing Bulgarian legislature in line with the international law; increasing the population's legal culture; giving free judicial assistance;" and "assessing the damage inflicted to citizens, whose rights have been violated."

Bakhnev says that "the need to democratize Bulgaria's society" necessitated the establishment of the Committee on Human Rights, and points out the importance of really defending human rights. Asked about the changes in the organization's activities after 10 November, he says that the changes were in the direction of "more glasnost," and "more free expression of opinions."

Bulgarian Consulate Opens Doors in Istanbul

*TA0201164290 Ankara ANATOLIA in English
1530 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Text] Istanbul (A.A)—The Bulgarian consulate in Istanbul opened its doors to the public for the first time, after having been the target of a number of protest demonstrations, because of the Bulgarian government's assimilation policy in the past.

Turkey on Saturday welcomed Bulgaria's decision to abandon its policy of assimilating ethnic Turks.

More than 300,000 mainly Moslem ethnic Turks fled from Bulgaria to Turkey last year, the victims of a forced religious and cultural assimilation campaign. But Bulgaria's new Communist authorities announced on Friday that Moslems would no longer have to take Bulgarian names and would have the right to practice Islam.

Officials say over 100,000 of the ethnic Turks who fled to Turkey have returned to Bulgaria and more are now expected to go back.

Consul Slavi Slavov gave details of the decisions taken last week by the Bulgarian Communist Party's [CP] Central Committee. An interpreter translated from Bulgarian to English during the conference.

Slavov said that the Bulgarian CP has decided to continue its leading role in Bulgarian society. However, he added some necessary changes were reviewed during the Central Committee meeting.

Slavov said that at the meeting different views were expressed on returning the religious and language rights and the right to have Turkish names to the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

"The Central Committee regarded views opposing the return of (these) rights as pure demagogy and decided to return them," he said, adding, "(ex-leader Todor) Zhivkov's practices were wrong."

Slavov went on to say that everyone in Bulgarian society will have equal rights and human rights will be [words indistinct] the decisions also included an amnesty for those convicted because of actions "which were not terrorist in nature."

Stressing that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had opened a new phase in the 20th century, Slavov said that the Bulgarian parliament would convene on Jan 30 to discuss these matters.

He said that the houses and jobs of the Turks who fled the Bulgarian regime were available if they return to Bulgaria.

Mladenov Greets Romania's Iliescu

AU3012100289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Dec 89 p 1

[Telegram from State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov to Ion Iliescu, president of Romania's Council of the National Salvation Front—date and place not given]

[Text] Dear Mr Iliescu, please accept my sincere congratulations on your election as president of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania.

Permit me on this occasion to express our solidarity with the struggle of the fraternal Romanian people for freedom, democracy, humanitarianism, and progress.

I use this occasion, esteemed Mr Iliescu, to wish you good health and successes in your highly responsible work for the well-being of the Romanian people and for building a more just and democratic society. I voice my confidence that our countries will cooperate successfully with one another in strengthening peace and security in Europe.

Mladenov-Iliescu Phone Call Noted

AU3112185789 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 31 (BTA)—In a telephone conversation with Mr Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front of Romania, Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, expressed the delight with which the entire Bulgarian people received the news of the Romanian people's victory. Bulgaria is determined to render assistance to the Romanian people's reconstruction efforts. The Bulgarian leaders expressed confidence that the friendly ties between the two countries will be further consolidated under the new conditions.

Mr Ion Iliescu thanked for the solidarity with the Romanian people and for the disinterested help. "At this stage," Mr Iliescu pointed out, "Bulgaro-Romanian relations, whose roots go deep into history, will have much better opportunities for fruitful promotion."

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ion Iliescu agreed that a Bulgarian Government member will visit Bucharest in early January 1990 for talks with Romanian Government officials on matters concerning the mutually advantageous cooperation.

At the end of their conversation, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ion Iliescu exchanged best wishes for every success of the two friendly neighbouring peoples during the New Year.

Mladenov Greets Havel on Election in CSSR

AU2912162289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov has sent a telegram to Vaclav Havel, president of Czechoslovakia, congratulating him and offering best wishes on his election as president.

Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are linked by ties of traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation, which have their roots in the Slavic history of our peoples and are inspired by the common European processes of democratization and renewal of society, the telegram states.

Mladenov at New Year's Diplomatic Reception

AU0201221590 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 2 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, today had a meeting with the leaders of the diplomatic missions here on the occasion of the New Year.

Mr Mladenov said that Bulgaria is making her first steps along the road of real innovation. He underlined that the Bulgarian people is firmly resolved to cover this road, no matter how difficult it may be, being fully aware that it is the only way of saving itself. We see the success of our development only in concerted actions with all countries and peoples in the world.

The president of the State Council pointed out that Bulgaria appreciates the efforts of all peoples, states and governments aimed at the establishment of a calmer, more secure and peaceful world and that Bulgaria will do what is necessary to contribute to the assertion of a humane, democratic and just human society.

On behalf of the State Council, the Council of Ministers and on his own behalf Mr Petur Mladenov wished the ambassadors, their peoples and their families a happy, peaceful and fruitful year.

Havel Pays Official Visit to GDR, FRG

Welcomed by FRG Leaders

LD0201175190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1535 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Following his visit to the GDR, President Vaclav Havel also visited today the FRG. Our Bonn correspondent, Jiri Halousek, reports on this event:

[Begin Halousek recording, in Czech] Czecoslovak President Vaclav Havel landed at 1530 at Munich Airport with a delegation, which also comprises Premier Calfa and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. He was welcomed by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. [passage omitted]

A gala motorcade with the highest CSSR and FRG representatives arrives in front of Prince Carl Palace. After greeting the citizens who gathered here, Bavarian Minister-President Max Streibl greeted the guests. He stressed that Bavaria has a 350-km border with Czechoslovakia and that it therefore has a specially great interest in developing mutual relations. He said that the Bavarian people have followed attentively the latest developments in Czechoslovakia. In this connection he congratulated the supreme representative of our country on the freedom won by the Czechoslovak people. Max Streib recalled that he took under his patronage the Sudeten Germans and expressed gratitude for the frank words—as he put it—written by Vaclav Havel in the letter to the President Richard von Weizsaecker. The Bavarian minister-president stressed that this is a good basis that can be used for further work. He then invited the Czechoslovak and West German presidents, premiers, and foreign ministers to sign the Golden Book of the Bavarian State Government.

Following this solemn act Vaclav Havel went out onto the balcony of the palace where he once again greeted the chanting crowd.

Then the actual talks began. First of all, the Czechoslovak President met with his host, Richard von Weizsaecker, while the talks at the level of the premiers and foreign ministers opened in the room next door.

During this afternoon Vaclav Havel, also had talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Genscher, and Bavarian Minister-President Streibl. Meetings are also planned with representatives of FRG opposition parties, SPD Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel, and Green Party spokeswomen Antje Vollmer. At the conclusion of the brief visit by the Czechoslovak president to Munich a press conference is planned at which the public will be briefed on the results of today's talks. [end recording]

Meets Bavarian Premier, Others

LD0201203390 Prague CTK in English 1943 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Munich, Jan 2 (CTK correspondents)—Visiting Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel was received here today by Bavarian Premier Max Streibl who stressed that his election head of state is a signal announcing that the time of oppression in Czechoslovakia has ended.

Bavaria which received many Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II is today interested in good and peaceloving neighbourhood, Streibl said, adding that on the basis of the changes in Central and Eastern Europe there is today a great chance for a joint peaceful and free future of all Europeans.

The Czechoslovak president met also with representatives of the West German section of the International Association for the Defence of Artists (AIDA) and of the Civic Forum in Frankfurt/Main.

A press conference of representatives of the two states was held at the end of the visit.

Later tonight the Czechoslovak president left for home.

Discusses Trips to FRG, GDR

LD0201203790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Statement by President Vaclav Havel during news conference in Munich on 2 January—recorded]

[Text] As you probably know, although this visit to the GDR in the morning and the visit to your country in the afternoon, was intended to be mainly symbolic, it has changed into a working visit through a kind of historical gravity. We were also able to discuss many specific issues and in both countries I was able to mention certain plans, initiatives, ideas and intentions which I personally as president have and which all of us have. The fact that all this was possible was also because I did not have to explain everything at too great a length, because I encountered such a good understanding in the two countries that it was enough to hint at a given subject and I did not have to spend much time explaining it.

Even now I do not intend to provide an explanation of all five or seven reasons which led me to paying my first state visit to these two countries in particular. I am firmly convinced that the newsmen themselves will understand these reasons. I will mention only one reason which is that the present chairman of GDR State Council was the first person to visit me in the Civic Forum in Prague—the first head of state to visit me in the Civic Forum in Prague a fortnight before I became the president. As for President Weizsaecker, I felt a kind of friendly link across the miles, although we personally only met each other today.

Meets Press in Munich

LD0201213690 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Munich, Jan 2 (CTK)—A press conference of Czechoslovak and West German representatives was held here today at the end of the visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to the FRG.

West German President Richard von Weizsaecker appreciated Havel's courageous struggle against oppression and for truth as an example for the Czechoslovak people, Europe and whole mankind, and stressed that Vaclav Havel has great moral authority.

By his visit the Czechoslovak president opened a new stage in the relations between Czechoslovakia and West Germany, the West German president pointed out, adding that the two sides discussed today various meetings, economic cooperation, culture, new border crossings and the environment.

Vaclav Havel stressed that his visit to both German states should have been originally symbolical but turned into a working visit which made it possible to discuss concrete issues, projects and initiatives. There was great understanding from both countries, the Czechoslovak president stressed.

Czechoslovakia should be in the future a free, independent, peaceloving, economically prosperous and socially just country maintaining good relations with all states, including the Soviet Union naturally, he said and underlined the need for removing all obstacles in Europe, including those preventing people from travelling.

The Czechoslovak president appreciated the fact that today's meeting took place in Munich as he sees something symbolical in it.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed that Czechoslovakia has at last the opportunity to play the role which it should have played already after World War II. Dealing with the discussions on visa-free travels between Czechoslovakia and the FRG he said that they have started recently and will take some time.

Returns From Visit

LD0201213290 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel returned here tonight from a one-day visit to the GDR and the FRG.

He was accompanied on his first foreign trip by Premier Marian Calfa, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, prominent representatives of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence Movement.

Comments Upon Return

LD0201213990 Prague CTK in English 2034 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Munich, Jan 2 (CTK correspondent)—"The visit to the GDR and West Germany surpassed my expectations. We have done more than was planned. More meetings took place", Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told CTK at the end of his today's visit to the GDR and FRG.

Dealing with the main significance of his visit, Vaclav Havel said that despite its shortness he has found out that opinions on the future of Europe are similar in both German states and Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier on German Talks

LD0201231390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Report on interview with CSSR foreign minister Jiri Dienstbier by correspondent Stahlavsky at Prague Airport on 2 January—recorded]

[Text] [Stahlavsky] In the airport hall, I stopped Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, who accompanied the CSSR president on his lightning visit to the two German states. Minister, can I ask a question for CSSR radio? Did you also talk about the Sudetan Germans?

[Diensthier] No, we did not.

[Stahlavsky] And can you tell me if you achieved any concrete results in the sphere of economic agreements?

[Dienstbier] The talks were just to get to know each other, they were conducted in an excellent atmosphere and I will meet Minister Genscher at the beginning of February. In between, it is a very short time, but I think that even during this short time we will be able to get some things ready so that we can sign something—some kind of agreement.

[Stahlavsky] Do you have an economic agreement in mind?

[Dienstbier] Well, I do not know about that, because we need to conclude an agreement about the protection of investments, which is the most important thing. However, it's not so much a question of great contradictions, but the rather meager means we have to protect foreign investments, because we are short of foreign currency. Perhaps there will be some agreements about the building of new border crossings and about visa policy and so on; maybe we can achieve something there.

Kohl Interviewed

LD0201231190 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2102 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Interview with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded; Kohl in German with superimposed Slovak translation]

[Text] [Reporter] As is known, at the talks the two sides expressed the intention to open a new chapter in their relations. How and by what means does the FRG intend to fill the pages of this new chapter?

[Kohl] We have been through the first working day of 1990 and this date marks the beginning of the nineties. We are looking at the decade, which witnessed much poverty, blood, and suffering. I think it is important for us not to forget history. It also is important for us to be able to draw lessons from history and to make use of this lesson in the time that lies ahead of us before the year 2000—and it is only 10 years—or the end of the century and the millennium. We will make use of it for the goodneighborliness between the Bavarian Federal Land, with its capital Munich, and Czechoslovakia. The border between our two countries is several hundred kilometers long. These borders should be open, crossings should be set up, the people should be drawn closer together, the free movement of citizens and goods should be supported, and the economic development in Czechoslovakia, which is inhabited by exceptionally talented people, should be supported.

When you look at the whole of European history, Czechoslovakia and its people have always contributed to the development of modern technology and advanced science to a significant extent, but if you give the people of Czechoslovakia freedomm and the free framework needed by the modern national economy, I am sure that the continuity that so far has been missing will appear in a short space of time. Providing help is a European obligation. I emphasize already now that we would like to turn this decade into the decade of Europeans, so that the whole world may see beyond the European Community borders, too. It is very important to point out what could develop from Europe, from the old continent, which has been written of by many. The day after tomorrow I will meet French President Mitterand for 1 day of private talks. On this occasion, we will discuss how to proceed further in the European Community, which must not finish here at the Elbe. In this respect, I am an optimist.

Frankfurt Civic Forum Statement

LD0201213990 Prague CTK in English 2031 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Munich, Jan 2 (CTK correspondent)—"We are pleased that the first visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel abroad is to Germany. We must draw lessons from the past, exchange experience, help each other in the future, for instance in improving the environment, and re-evaluate the things that disturbed our neighbourly relations in the past", a statement of the civic forum in Frankfurt/Main issued today said.

The document suggests the opening of consular sections for instance in the port cities of Bratislava and Hamburg, trade fair centres of Brno and Frankfurt/Main, etc, the extension of transport possibilities between the two countries, the introduction of mutual visa-free contact and abolition of the obligatory exchange of foreign currency. The Civic Forum in Frankfurt also proposed to collect money for the benefit of the civic forum in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak citizens should be allowed to gain experience by getting a job in West Germany, the document said.

Children of German nationality in Czechoslovakia should be allowed to attend German schools, and Germans living in these regions to associate in cultural and compatriot unions, the statement pointed out, adding that mutual exchange of students and youth, as well as consultations of ministers and prime ministers should intensify in the future.

Further Reportage on Havel, Calfa Visit to FRG

For FRG reportage on the visit by CSSR President Havel and CSSR Premier Calfa to the Federal Republic of Germany, including reports on talks with Federal President Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, and other officials and leaders, please see the FRG section of the 3 January West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Dubcek Receives Soviet Envoy 2 Jan

LD0201191590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador in Prague, today conveyed to Alexander Dubcek, Chairman of the Federal Assembly, the congratulations of the Supreme Soviet on his election to high office.

Alexander Dubcek expressed his thanks for the congratulations and had a friendly talk with Viktor Lomakin.

Cic, Dienstbier Discuss Foreign Policy 18 Dec

LD1812222289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Slovak Premier Milan Cic, met in Bratislava today with foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. The two representatives shared in their tasks the same viewpoints on our state's foreign policy. They called for a wider representation of Slovakia in the foreign service in which capable, professionally proficient people should assert themselves regardless of their party membership.

Milan Cic and Jiri Dienstbier also analyzed the issue of the stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia and the possibility of opening consular offices of the United States and Canada in Bratislava.

Foreign Ministry Announces New Exit Regulations

LD2012102789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has supplied the following additional information on the conditions under which citizens of the GDR, Hungary, and Poland residing permanently on the territory of Czechoslovakia can travel out of the country. They can only travel on passports without Czechoslovak return visas and will only fill out statistics registers at the border. Soviet citizens, who are permitted residence in Czechoslovakia, which means either long-term or permanent, are treated in the same way. As from tomorrow, 20 December, Czechoslovak return visas will not be required from Austrian citizens, who have been allowed either permanent or long-term residence in Czechoslovakia. They also will be required only to fill out statistical registers at the border.

Slovak Premier Sees Elections as New Year Task

LD0201235690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Jan 89

[Text] In connection with the tasks of his cabinet this year, Slovak Premier Milan Cic today answered the questions asked by a CTK correspondent. He noted that the preparations for free democratic elections to all representative bodies is the priority task of the government. In the interest of consistent implementation of the principle of constitutionality and legality, the government will be working on drafting the Slovak Socialist Republic Constitution and on drafting the new CSSR Constitution and numerous laws, which will express and ensure legitimate interests and rights of free citizens and sovereignty of people. Milan Cic stressed that even though the functioning of the government is restricted by time, concerning the elections being prepared, its action measures in the economic and social sphere must be in keeping with the long-term objectives of socioeconomic development.

This is the approach of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government toward the new conception of the economic reform and toward solving urgent problems, which face not only the Slovak Socialist Republic Government, but all our society.

Komarek Interviewed on National Situation

AU2812143389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Dec 89 pp 101-102

[Interview with CSSR First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek by DER SPIEGEL; date and place not given: "The Power Mafia Became Nervous"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Komarek, in the CSSR the old system was maintained for a longer time than in the GDR. Why?

Komarek: This system was based on a clear division which worked for almost half a century: on the one side there was a power mafia consisting of 200,000 to 300,000 members of the party apparatus, the State Security Service, the officers, and the leading people in the enterprises and local administrations; on the other side there were 15 million citizens, the people, who were kept at bay by the power mafia, but otherwise largely led normal lives.

DER SPIEGEL: This was possible?

Komarek: Yes. We did our research, the actors played their parts on the stages, the doctors treated the people, who slept with each other, had children, and died....

DER SPIEGEL: And what about ideology?

Komarek: There was something like an unwritten social contract between the regime and the people. The people were prepared for cheers at official events, while the regime did not further intervene in their lives—of course, only as long as they did not openly oppose the system. It went without saying that the people were kept under surveillance by the State Security Service, but this was also part of this contract, as well as the fact that the regime did not demand too much of them.

DER SPIEGEL: But why did it break down so quickly in the end?

Komarek: The power mafia only worked as long as it was able to use the Brezhnev system as its basis. When it broke down and Gorbachev introduced perestroyka, the abnormality of the system became apparent. The people took a breath, started to walk more upright again, the power mafia was forced onto the defensive, became nervous, and started to make mistakes.

DER SPIEGEL: But the government apparatus was still intact.

Komarek: It became apparent that this system was increasingly based on the passivity of fear. As soon as this fear was overcome, when hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets, the regime was helpless.

DER SPIEGEL: Why were above all the students so courageous?

Komarek: The harder the regime reacted to the demonstrations, the greater became the rage of the students, who took to the streets in ever larger numbers. Now it became evident that the regime was more a facade than a real power, that there were maybe 2,000 to 3,000 people in leading positions in the security apparatus on whom it could really rely.

DER SPIEGEL: And what about the Czechoslovak Army?

Komarek: The politicization of the Army must not be underestimated, but basically they are citizens who were put in uniforms and have children and families. Many young people who demonstrated in the days of November were sons and daughters of officers.

DER SPIEGEL: Has the power mafia been defeated once and for all?

Komarek: Yes, it suffered a historic defeat. Now there can only be individual acts of despair. We took over the power in the state and also head the security sector. We will take effective measures to keep the machinery of power under control.

DER SPIEGEL: What measures?

Komarek: The less we talk about it, the better. We want to avoid the creation of an emotional atmosphere: After all, important parts of the apparatus must continue to function, for example, the criminal police or the traffic police.

DER SPIEGEL: You yourself continued to be a party member because you wanted to avoid the worst and help the reforms to succeed, as you wrote in an open letter to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party at the end of November. Will you remain a party member?

Komarek: I stated in public that communism has failed as a theoretical and practical concept and that we must overcome Marx and Lenin, whom I do not in the least regard as theoreticians. We have to overcome the principles of class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the so-called democratic centralism. Only if the party throws these principles overboard and adopts a really democratic socialism, can it be a modern political force.

DER SPIEGEL: And if this does not happen?

Komarek: Then it will be pointless to remain in the party; my membership will automatically expire. However, if it really adopts a democratic program and develops in the direction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, for example, this party will not need me any longer. In the first case I will be unable to remain a member, in the second case I need not do so. I am an independent scientist and would prefer to keep completely aloof from party life.

DER SPIEGEL: The Forecasting Institute set up by you contributed the first deputy premier and two ministers to the new government. Why is an institute with approximately 60 members so successful?

Komarek: The institute was established at the beginning of perestroyka. I succeeded in recruiting excellent experts who had been expelled from the party after 1968 and had been ignored by Czechoslovak official research since that time. In addition, there were younger researchers. For approximately 4 years, this team of experts drafted forecasts and programs for the development of the CSSR toward a market economy, profound structural changes....

DER SPIEGEL: Within the system?

Komarek: We also analyzed prospective political changes and predicted the present development fairly precisely, but of course not that everything would happen so fast.

DER SPIEGEL: What was your forecast?

Komarek: We developed a scenario that corresponds to the course of events in the GDR. First the general secretary of the party would be replaced, then there would be mass demonstrations, and finally the masses would sweep the party away—which has actually happened now.

DER SPIEGEL: The end of the Communist course?

Komarek: Yes, but without anticommunist hysteria, rather to the effect that the people simply negate communism, that it is no longer interesting for them. If there had not been the State Security Service and the detested symbols of communism, the people would have simply regarded the old system as ruined. Therefore, there is neither antisovietism nor anticommunism in our country today—nobody takes the old system seriously any longer.

DER SPIEGEL: In your econmic forecast, however, you and your colleagues of the Forecasting Institute who became ministers are optimistic.

Komarek: There are two currents in our country. The ones are skeptical and assert that the economy is in an almost catastrophic state, industry is hopelessly outdated and unable to compete, and the working morale is bad. A basic reform must automatically result in mass unemployment and an increased inflation rate, they say.

DER SPIEGEL: But you do not share this opinion.

Komarek: Of course, there are numerous negative factors. The structure of the economy is distorted, the heavy industry oversized, and in modern technology and chemistry we lag behind the West. The infrastructure, as well as the services sector, are insufficiently developed. The motivation of the enterprises and the people is wrong. This leads to enormous waste. In addition, the environment is destroyed....

DER SPIEGEL: This sounds pessimistic.

Komarek: Yes, nevertheless the CSSR has a powerful classic industrial potential. We have a rich industrial tradition, talented engineers, and constructors. We are able to supply the Soviet Union with large quantities of machines that work fairly well.

DER SPIEGEL: But is your economy also able to export to the West?

Komarek: I do believe so. The most important obstacle was the lack of economic motivation of the enterprises. It did not make any difference to an enterprise whether it exported to the Soviet Union or the United States—the acquired foreign exchange went into the state budget. The exports to the Soviet Union did not result in any problems, the local market took everything. However, the Western markets set high quality standards.

DER SPIEGEL: The food supply in the CSSR seems to be better than, for example, in the GDR.

Komarek: This is another important advantage. We produce more foodstuffs than we consume. However, there are, of course, also problems with quality, the assortment, and packing, but the shops are full, the people need not stand in line or even suffer hunger.

DER SPIEGEL: Will the economy cope with a rapid opening toward the West?

Komarek: Of course, this also entails a certain risk. If we proceed too hastily and open our economy, which is not yet able to compete, too quickly, the official exchange rate of our currency might come close to the black market exchange rate. This would result in heavy losses. However, if we tackle the matter reasonably, an opening can revive our market and, at the same time, initiate the modernization of our economy.

DER SPIEGEL: The CSSR does not want to ask for economic aid?

Komarek: We do not need any loans or even presents. What we need is reasonable and fair cooperation.

Havel Decrees Amnesty for Over 20,000 Inmates

LD0201203990 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 2 (CTK)—More than 20,000 persons will be released from Czechoslovak prisons on the basis of the amnesty declared by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel on January 1, 1990, Czech Minister of Justice Dagmar Buresova and Slovak Prison Guards' Commander Ivan Novak told CTK.

There were some 31,000 convicted persons in Czecoslovakia by January 1, 1990, i.e. the amnesty will concern approximately two thirds of prisoners.

A spokesman for the Czech Ministry of Justice announced today that the situation in prisons have calmed down after the declaration of amnesty.

Working groups of the Czech National Council special commission for investigating the situation in prisons in the Czech Republic are visiting all prisons in Bohemia these days to gather as much information as possible about conditions in individual prisons. The commission will meet again on January 9.

"The commission ensues from generalized demands voiced in individual prisons which are identical in general. They concern especially humanization of conditions in prisons. Our system of prisons should be reconstructed to a system meeting humane demands with the assistance of psychologists and penologists. I do not assert that resocialization is possible in all cases. But we must give a chance to the maximum of convicted persons," Czech Minister of Justice Dagmar Buresova said.

Miller on Freed Citizens' Employment

LD0201214990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Labor and Social Affairs Minister Petr Miller; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Summary] Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Petr Miller is interviewed about the employment of convicts released by Havel's amnesty. He reads a statement of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs:

"In connection with the decision of Vaclav Havel, president of the CSSR, a meeting was held at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs about the employment of citizens freed by amnesty and their stabilization in organizations. It was noted that there are wide possibilities on the entire territory of the CSSR for employing these citizens. It will however be necessary that national committees give them as much help as they can so they can find their place in civilian life as soon as possible. Also, forms of aid were agreed upon for finding new staff for production organizations which will lose a larger number of their manpower by the departure of the amnestied citizens. Some organizations, it seems, might face serious production problems due to a shortage of manpower after the departure of the amnestied citizens. Therefore, a consultative-advisory group was created at the Federal Ministry of labor and Social Affairs which will be seeking, along with relevant federal and republic central bodies, ways and possibilities of overcoming the temporary shortage of manpower in these organizations. The consultative group is working at the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, tel: 21-18 line-502."

Petr Miller says that it is expected that enterprises in which convicts used to work will report how many workers they are losing and a decision will be made which enterprise will be helped first. The interview continues:

"[Reporter] Mr Minister, we have heard from several people, former members of staff of party apparatus and former members of the state security bodies, that they have problems in finding jobs. What is your opinion?

"[Miller] Should there be a case in which an enterprise refuses a job to a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, or a member of the public security forces as a matter of principle, please inform me at once because this is illegal.

"However we must take this into consideration: The Czechoslovak government guarantees employment for everyone but at the same time it should be efficient employment. The government is a guarantor of employment for everyone, but to employ people efficiently is a matter for every organization. Every organization ought to know whom it needs and what qualifications it requires. We cannot order them around in this. It means that these people who in some cases are very narrowly specialized must be retrained very quickly.

"[Reporter] What about their financial security?

"[Miller] These people will definitely not be left without financial security. The decree on financial help for workers prior to starting a job will apply to them too."

Industry Hurt by Amnesty

AU0301161190 Paris AFP in English 1540 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 3 (AFP)—A sweeping amnesty for Czechoslovakian prisoners has caused serious problems for many of the country's industries, who drew part of their work force from forced prison labour, a senior official said here Wednesday.

The situation is worst in the auto industry, where the country's main car factory has been forced to stop production lines and lay off 18,000 people after losing most of the 1,600 prisoners who had been working in its paint shop and pressing plant.

The prisoners were freed Monday, leaving the Skoda plant at Mlada Boleslav 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Prague with only about 60 detainees among its workforce and unable to function, said Jiri Rataj, an official with the steel, mechanics and electronics ministry.

Almost two-thirds of the country's prison population as of January 1, some 20,000 of the 31,000 prisoners, are to be released by January 21 under the amnesty declared on Monday by new President Vaclav Havel.

Thousands of prisoners had been used as forced labour in the country's factories, and the Cabinet is to meet Thursday to discuss the problems posed by their release, Mr. Rataj said.

The government is considering calling in the Army to fill the gap, he added.

New Foreign Currency Regulations Announced

AU0812102989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on Finance Ministry announcement on Citizens' Travel Abroad—date not given]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Following an agreement with the Czechoslovak State Bank, the Federal Ministry of Finance announces that, in connection with the decision to change the conditions for Czechoslovak citizens' travel abroad, which went into effect on 4 December 1989, the following measures have been adopted concerning the provision of foreign exchange for tourist trips to nonsocialist countries:

1. Travel to these countries is not conditional on the acquisition of foreign exchange. The Czechoslovak State Bank also has no obligation to provide Czechoslovak citizens with foreign exchange funds.

2. a) For individual tourist trips to countries, the entry into which is dependent upon the issuance of a visa, Czechoslovak banks can, for the rest of 1989, make a single sale of foreign exchange equivalent to up to Kcs500, upon the presentation of a valid passport containing the appropriate visa. The money will be exchanged at the valid rate of exchange for noncommercial payments, including an administrative fee. The exchanged amount will be entered in the passport;

b) For individual tourist trips to countries which do not require an entry visa, Czechoslovak banks can, for the rest of 1989, make a single sale of foreign exchange equivalent to up to Kcs500, upon the presentation of a valid passport. The money will be exchanged at the valid rate of exchange for noncommercial payments, including an administrative fee. The exchanged amount will be entered in the passport;

c) Czechoslovak banks can also make a single sale of foreign exchange equivalent to up to Kcs500, at the valid rate of exchange for noncommercial payments, including an administrative fee, to participants in private tours to the above mentioned countries that have not been paid for in foreign exchange;

d) Children up to 12 years of age can be sold half this amount.

3. A Czechoslovak citizen can also purchase in the Czechoslovak State Bank foreign exchange funds to cover individual travel expenses on the basis of a previously granted foreign exchange allocation that is still valid.

4. A Czechoslovak citizen traveling to nonsocialist countries can also be provided with foreign exchange funds withdrawn from his foreign exchange account or obtained on the basis of a purpose-bound gift in freely convertible currencies, in accordance with previously valid conditions.

5. On the basis of a general foreign exchange permit which goes into force on 4 December 1989, Czechoslovak citizens traveling abroad can freely take out of the country freely convertible currencies worth up to Kcs1,000 under the valid rate of exchange for noncommercial payments without having to prove how they obtained them.

6. On the basis of a general foreign exchange permit which goes into force on 4 December 1989, the minimum initial deposit when opening a foreign exchange account is being reduced from $300 to $100. A novel feature is the possibility of transferring foreign exchange

resources from one foreign exchange account to a newly opened account of another Czechoslovak national. The set minimum amount to be withdrawn from a foreign exchange account when traveling abroad has also been abolished.

The measures cited in items 2 and 3 remain in force until the end of 1989. Czechoslovak citizens will be informed in due course about the method of the provision of foreign exchange funds for individual tourist trips to capitalist states in 1990.

The conditions governing the provision of foreign exchange funds for individual tourist trips to socialist countries remain unchanged.

Experts Say Convertibility Possible in 3 Years

AU2112212589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 2

["pp"-signed report: "Convertibility in 3 Years?"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[Passage omitted] The Monday [18 December] news conference at the CSSR Ministry of Finance concerned, apart from the laws approved by the Federal Assembly last week, also the path toward the convertibility of the koruna. The first step toward convertibility should be the so-called internal convertibility, that is, a situation in which a Czechoslovak citizen or enterprise is able to purchase foreign currency with the Czechoslovak currency. To achieve this, it is necessary to move toward the setting of the exchange rate by the market (the principle of supply and demand), to bring price levels [in Czechoslovakia and abroad] into balance, and to saturate the market with goods that are now in short supply. Representatives of the Ministry of Finance stated that the fulfillment of these conditions is possible within 2 to 3 years.

New Construction Prices Announced in Jan

AU0301093290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 2

["vo"-signed report in the "Per teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The wholesale prices for construction work will be adjusted as of 1 January 1990. In order to carry out the changes, in the first weeks of January 1990 adjusted Rules of the Federal Price Office [FCU] will be published to set the prices for construction work and adjusted FCU charges which lay down the tariffs for fringe budgetary costs. The lists of the changed prices for construction work will be published in the course of January 1990.

Havel Issues Order to Armed Forces 2 Jan

LD0201202390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] As president of the republic, Vaclav Havel has taken over the post of chief commander of Armed Forces. He issued the following order on the occasion today:

For defense of freedom and independence of the CSSR and its constitutional system the sovereign Czechoslovak people build their armed forces, which are common to Czech, Slovaks and the members of other nationalities.

We connect securing the defense of the country with peaceful development in Europe and in the entire world with the effort directed at reducing armaments and at disrmament. We proceed here from the obligations that follow for Czechoslovakia from its membership in the Warsaw Pact.

Members of the armed forces, I greet you on the occasion of taking over the office of the chief commander of the armed forces of the CSSR. I thank you for your previous efforts, aimed at building our country. Do continue to responsibly fulfill the tasks of combat preparation and all around readiness of the troops. Do conduct education in the army in the spirit of democracy, humanism, and patriotism. I wish you all the best in the implementation of all military duties and in your personal life. Long live our dear homeland.

Brno Military Airfield Gradually Phased Out

AU0301092490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Less Noise From Brno Airfield"]

[Text] Brno—Karel Urbanek, deputy of the Czech National Council, visited his constituency on Thursday [28 December] and informed the Brno mayor and the representatives of the national committees in the second and the fourth boroughs about the future of the military airfield in Brno-Turany. Because of the high noise level the airfield has become the target of public criticism from about 35 surrounding villages.

The situation now is that according to information of the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, the air traffic on this airfield will be suspended from 10 March until 15 December 1990. During that period the necessary general repairs of the runways, and the repair of signaling equipment for takeoffs and landings will be carried out. The CSSR Ministry of National Defense will expend on this action Kcs146 million and the CSA [Czechoslovak Airlines] about Kcs16 million.

K. Urbanek also provided information on his talks with Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense. Regarding the future of the Brno-Turany airfield, the minister said that after the general repairs have been concluded one envisages reducing the military traffic at least by half and, depending on developments in the international situation, a further reduction until it will be completely closed down.

Army Begins Disarming People's Militia

AU2812100189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The announcement by the press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, on the taking over of the People's Militia material: On 22 December 1989, units and facilties of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] are, in essence, concluding the transportation of the chemical, communications, medical, and other material of the People's Militia units to their stores. As the first things, the equipment [vyzbroj] and ammunition were taken over by 3 December this year. The CSLA will continue taking over material also between the Christmas and New Year holidays. The lack of comprehension on the part of some persons very often prevents a more organized and faster procedure. The material is being assessed from the viewpoint of usability for both the CSLA and social organizations. The public will be informed about the further course and the state of the tasks' fulfillment.

Army, Peace Council View Alternative Service

LD2112000589 Prague CTK in English 2148 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 19 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the preparatory committee for the establishment of the Czechoslovak Peace Council as the highest body of the Czechoslovak Peace Movement. The Independent Peace Association, striking university students and church dignitaries discussed here today prospects for substitute civilian service.

Representatives of the preparatory committee for the establishment of the Czechoslovak Peace Council and the Independent Peace Association proposed to the Army delegation that the substitute civilian service last 24 months and in the case of university graduates 15 months.

Requests for substitute civilian service should be presented within one month after the conscription and their justification would be decided by independent commissions set up at the regional national committees. Before starting military service, all young people will be acquainted with the possibility to perform substitute civilian service because of their conscience but those interested will not be better paid than those who would start basic military service.

Representative of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, Colonel Milos Vopatek said that before substitute civilian service is introduced it must be laid down in the Czechoslovak Constitution.

Another meeting of representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army with the Czechoslovak public is due to take place in January and should deal with making conditions in the Czechoslovak People's Army more human.

Rehabilitating Soldiers Persecuted by Former Regime

AU0301143890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Soldiers Are Being Rehabilitated"]

[Text] Prague—According to a Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] statement, all former professional soldiers and civilian employees of the military administration who were in various ways especially harshly persecuted for their political attitudes in connection with the years 1968-69 are regarded as being fully politically rehabilitated. Based on the decision of the minister of national defense of 27 December 1989, a central rehabilitation commission has been set up, which is attached to the FMNO [Federal Ministry of National Defense]. Furthermore, by 31 March 1990 at the latest, rehabilitation commissions will be set up which will be attached to regional election commissions and some military administrations. In view of the fact that a list of all professional soldiers or civilian employees who were persecuted in the years 1949-89 is not available, the commission requests that all of those interested in being rehabilitated send their name, rank, and unit to which they were attached to the following address: Colonel Engineer Jiri Vojkuvka, FMNO/38, Trida CSLA 61, Prague 160 01. It also is possible to get in touch with the regional military administrations.

Army Forum Urges Abolition of Political Structures

LD1412190689 Prague CTK in English 1432 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—Representatives of army forums currently established in the Czechoslovak People's Army have sent an open letter to the defence minister calling for an immediate abolition of all political structures in the army and for reducing bureaucratic personnel political work.

The Army forums follow the historical and general principle that the Army should not side with any political party and demand that Army officers—members of political parties should carry out their political activities beyond the boundaries of military areas and not to wear uniforms on such occasions.

The Army forums further demand that even soldiers who are currently in active service should have the term of service shortened.

They demand that all officers who have compromised themselves and who are incapable of fulfilling their duties should be replaced by younger and morally firm officers.

In order to have the fulfilment of their demands guaranteed, the Army forums call for the establishment of a temporary general inspector of the Czechoslovak People's Army. They want to establish army forums freely and democratically.

This information was offered to CTK by the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre.

Party Activity in Armed Forces To Be Canceled

LD1512154789 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defense Minister, Lieutenant-General Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference here today that the Czechoslovak People's Army is ready to defend the sovereignty and integrity of Czechoslovakia.

"We fully support the democratization process in our country and take concrete measures to strengthen and develop this positive process," he stressed.

He said that the army's leadership has decided to reduce the number of reservists by 90,000 in 1990. The minister will propose to the Czechoslovak Government not to organize military parades in Prague and Bratislava next year marking the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia and to spend thus saved money on the improvement of the living environment in both capitals.

The minister informed journalists that he submitted a proposal to the Czechoslovak Government to shorten the basic military service from the present 24 months to 18 months and in the case of university graduates from twelve to nine months, starting next year.

The alternative service is possible also in Czechoslovakia but its legalization is not only an affair of the Army. In the Army's view, alternative service must be disadvantaged by its length at least at its initial phase and equal conditions which soldiers have during their basic service must be also in remuneration, he added.

In harmony with the annulment of the article about the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society from the Czechoslovak Constitution, the minister has decided to cancel the activity of the party in regiments and workplaces of the Army. "The Army will be built on the principles of openness and democracy, without the participation of political parties, movements and churches."

The minister proposed to the government to consider the possibility of definitive removal of frontier barriers along the Czechoslovak borders with Austria and the FRG. "In view of the tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army in defending the state, the present frontier barriers placed along the state border with Austria and the FRG are unnecessary," he said.

Defense Minister on Army's Reorganization

AU1912212289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Dalibor Macha in Prague on 15 December: "Shorter Army Service"]

[Text] **Prague (Our correspondent)—Significant changes to go into effect in the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] on New Year—especially the shortening of the basic military service, the reduced call-ups of reservists, the abolishment of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] primary organizations, and the elimination of the barriers on the border with Austria and the FRG—were announced by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, at a news conference in Prague on Friday [15 December].**

The proposals in greater detail:

—With the aim of assisting in the smooth transition to the functioning of state enterprises [as published], the CSLA command decided **to reduce the number of called-up reservists to military exercises by 90,000 men in 1990.** (In 1989, compared with 1988, this reduction was 15,000 reservists.)

—Next year, when Czechoslovakia celebrates the 45th anniversary of the victory over fascism, **military parades in Prague and Bratislava will not be held.** The money thus saved will be spent on improving the environment in some exposed [exponovane] CSLA garrisons.

—After having obtained the premier's nod, the CSSR minister of national defense will submit to the government the proposal to **shorten the basic military service from 24 to 18 months,** effective 2 January 1990. (Thus, the shortening does not apply to soldiers of the basic military service already serving in the Army.) With this, the minister will propose to the premier shortening the basic military service of **graduates of military disciplines at higher institutes of learning (VKVS) to 9 months.** Also connected with this is the reduction of hours at the VKVS by one-third, and a more suitable arrangement of military training in accordance with students' proposals into some sort of blocks.

—In accordance with the abolishment of the constitutional article on the CPCZ's leading role, Minister Vacek decided, effective 2 January 1990, **to abolish the activity of CPCZ organizations at all work sites and in all formations of the CSLA.** At the same time, the structure of the CSLA's political apparatus will also be abolished. The Army will be built without the participation of political parties, movements, and churches.

—In order to strengthen trust and stability in Europe, the CSLA command proposes that the Czechoslovak Government assess the possibility of **removing the barriers along the entire length of the state border with Austria and the FRG.** Our Army, M. Vacek said, does not need them for defense.

—The CSLA command now assesses proposals for **founding a professional soldiers' association,** which would become their special-interest social (but not trade union) organization.

—Within the framework of the preparations for the seminar on military doctrines in Vienna in January 1990, the general continued, we presented the **Czechoslovak public with the draft of the new Czechoslovak doctrine for assessment.**

Answering questions about the **State Defense Council** (ROS), M. Vacek said that legislative bodies are assessing its future composition. As an example, he said that the federal premier could be the ROC chairman, and members of the two national governments, the minister of foreign affairs, of the interior, of national defense, and the deputy premier-chairman of the State Planning Commission, could be its members.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO about the real defense costs, M. Vacek said he, obviously, knows the sum. Meanwhile, the ROS charged the minister of foreign affairs with the task of informing the United Nations that we will publish the appropriate military data to conform with its system. The amount of defense expenditures will be fully published at the end of 1990. He immediately rejected the speculative figures published in the West, which he described as exaggerated. At the same time, he noted that providing defense- related expenditure figures is a complex matter (even within the Warsaw Pact framework certain sums in some countries are included in expenditure, in others not).

On the possibility of alternative service he said that it must arise from changes in the Constitution and not from the law on military service. It is, namely, a weighty matter which creates imbalance regarding the duties of young citizens. Those prevented by political or religious conviction can refuse military service, which is still prescribed by the law. In addition to a change in the constitution, it is necessary that the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs steps up its efforts in that respect.

[Editorial note: Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 16 December on page 1 also carries a report on the aforementioned news conference, mentioning that the minister of national defense "also answered a number of questions, among them of our editorial office, concerning the further fate of the military political academy and the political workers in the CSLA. 'Military schools of all-Army nature will, in essence, maintain their character. The existing military political academy will be abolished and in its stead a military-pedagogical faculty with a different teaching orientation will be established. In view of the UN needs, the stress there will be on teaching foreign languages. The number of political workers will be reduced by about one-third. In no case will they hold their present functions, but will be active as a cultural-educational apparatus, which will also be made immediately accessible to persons without party affiliation and members of other political parties. The Main Political Administration and other political administrations will be abolished.'"]

Daily Demands Information on State Security Work

AU1912133989 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 12 Dec 89 p 2

[Rostislav Rod commentary: "Why Are They Silent?"]

[Text] Yesterday's CTK report about the case of Tomas Tichy raises many question marks. Many unknown persons play their role in the case and the professionalism of its execution is startling. People are asking who in our country is capable of such an organized deed. Is it not, perhaps, the State Security Corps? Particularly among those who have had close personal experience of the practices of this armed body there is a profound distrust of it. The State Security Corps is one of the departments administered by the Ministry of Interior. As follows from its very name, its mission is to protect state interests. Excessive secrecy, however, always does more harm than good. This mattered in the quite recent past and today it matters all the more. The State Security Corps scares the people because even today it is not completely under control. According to Federal Premier M. Calfa, it cannot be ruled out that, later on, some segments of the security forces might be set apart from the Federal Ministry of Interior so that they can be administered separately. It is not yet clear when this will happen. The fact is therefore startling that no chief of the State Security Corps or a plenipotentiary of this body has appeared in public to date to at least sketch the form in which the State Security Corps works and with what it deals at present. Silence only adds fuel to the fire. Moreover, it creates the impression that everything in the state security bodies operates as it used to. If this is the case, who is served by it?

Politics Banned From Security Work

AU2512041389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Interior Ministry Free of Politics"]

[Text] Prague—In connection with recent constitutional changes and particularly the abrogation of article 4 on the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Antonin Hrazdira, minister of the interior and living environment in the Czech Socialist Republic, has issued an order banning all political activity from the operations of the ministry's security sector.

In the interests of an objective accomplishment of duties within the Public Security, the order establishes that no political activity may be developed either within the framework of the ministry's security sector, or in the formations of the National Security Corps under the ministry's management during service hours; and that no meetings or other actions organized by the political parties may be held on the premises of these bodies either during or after service hours.

More on Changes in Ministry of Interior

AU2812131789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 89 p 8

[CTK report: "Activity Suspended"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSSR Premier Marian Calfa and both CSSR first deputy premiers, Jan Carnogursky and Valtr Komarek, have suspended the activity of the State Security Corps' Investigation Administration and adopted measures aimed at disbanding its subdivisions [utvary], both in the center and in individual CSSR regions. The investigation of some particularly serious criminal acts, which has until now been carried out by this section of the Federal Ministry of Interior, will in the future be entrusted to only a small group of investigators who will be directly subordinated to the CSSR deputy minister of interior.

A decision has been made at the same time to hand over all equipment installed in communications buildings which lends itself to telephone tapping to the Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications or the appropriate communications organizations and to provide this equipment with seals of both the Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications and the Federal Ministry of Interior. Henceforth, admission to these facilities will be possible only under the control of Federal Ministry of Transportation and Communications staff.

Precise legal regulations will be set out for both the aforementioned group of investigators and for the use of the aforementioned wiretapping equipment, which is the subject of a state secret.

Jan Carnogursky has been charged with preparing these legal provisions.

Simulateneously, it has been decided that Communist Party of Czechoslovakia primary organizations will cease to operate in all constituent parts of the Federal Ministry of Interior by 31 December [1989].

Interior Ministry Sets Up Rehab Commission

LD2712223989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] The Czech Ministry of Interior and Environment set up a rehabilitation commission for assessing requests by former members of the national security corps who were sacked or released from their employment contracts because of political unsuitability for service in the connection with the 1968 events.

This commission will gather requests for rehabilitation and assess their legitimacy, while the rehabilitation itself will be carried out only after the appropriate generally binding legal regulations are issued.

Security Service Plans To Set Up Trade Union

AU0301132290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 89 p 3

[Report on the Coordination Committee of the Trade Union of Members of the National Security Corps meeting in Bratislava on 28 December]

[Text] The coordination committee for setting up a trade union of members of the SNB [National Security Corps] met in Bratislava yesterday [28 December]. The coordination committee dealt with proposals for the organizational and content orientation of the future trade union of members of the SNB, which were prepared by the committee for the founding of this trade union on 20 December in Prague. The coordination committee expressed its agreement in principle with the orientation of the future trade union.

The trade union of members of the SNB will be a trade union organization representing the economic, social, and cultural interests, rights, and other legitimate interests of members of the SNB. In the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior it will conduct discussions and [initiate] actions defending and safeguarding the rights and the social standing of members of the SNB. It will be a politically neutral organization, independent of political parties, of the state, and of all managing levels of the service's hierarchy; it will function vis-a-vis the state and the service's bodies and governments as the interpreter of the views and the representative of members of the SNB. It will cooperate with the aforementioned ones in preparing documents in the areas of labor law, wages, social care for the working people, and the protection of health and labor safety. It will be a voluntary and open association representing the branch [odvetvove] and professional interests of members of the SNB.

In connection with the constituent conference of the Trade Union of Members of the SNB [OS SNB] it is necessary: a) on the level of the OS SNB and in independent organizational units to found the trade union's primary organizations. deadline: 10 January 1990; b) by 10 January 1990 to hold constituent talks of the trade union's primary organizations, and at those talks to elect the committee of the organization and two delegates to the constituent Slovak and statewide conference, the date of which will be announced later; c) to inform the Municipal District Administration of the SNB, Bratislava 2, about the founding of the primary organization and the elected delegates.

Captain LLD Jan Biznar

for the Coordination Committee of

the Trade Union of Members of the SNB

New Defense Minister Meets Students

AU1112155989

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 December on page 1 carries a 1,000-word article by Dalibor Macha and Vit Suchy entitled "General Under Fire From Civilians." The article describes an undated discussion meeting with Lieutenant General Miroslav Vacek, new CSSR minister of national defense, organized by the students of the Czech College of Technology in Prague. According to the authors, the students mostly aired grievances about their military training, arguing that "600 hours of military training for a university student is too much," that they must perform many superfluous jobs, and that the one day of military training which students must undergo every week disrupts their studies and "kills our intellectual potential." They also complained about the great number of weekend services, pointing out that West German soldiers can go home for the weekend, and demanded that the army stand aloof from politics and the minister of defense be a civilian. In his replies, Minister Vacek reportedly admitted that "there are many shortcomings" in the military training and service of university students, that he is in favor of reducing the number of hours of military training "by one third," and that "one could also consider a shortening of military service for university graduates to 9 months," with the first 3 months to be spent in an NCO school and the remaining 6 months with a military unit. There, according to Vacek, they would have the same status as career soldiers, which means that "they would not have to file requests for furlough and could go home on work-free days, provided that they are not assigned to do service." As for the demand that the Army be headed by a civilian, Vacek reportedly replied that a civilian "is not prepared for the requirements placed on the Czechoslovak People's Army as a front-echelon army of the Warsaw Pact." In conclusion, the authors mention that the minister cited some "interesting facts," such as that "the Czechoslovak People's Army has approximately 200,000 members" or that "35 percent of the 26,000 conscripts called up every year have an impaired state of health, and 5 percent a criminal record."

Decree on Unemployment Benefit Outlined

AU0301090790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Dec 89 p 2

[Report on interview with Milan Horalek, deputy minister of labor and social affairs, by unidentified CTK correspondent; date and place not given: "On Material Security in the Wake of Structural Changes"]

[Excerpts] Milan Horalek, deputy minister of labor and social affairs, has replied to a CTK correspondent's questions concerning the new decree of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs [FMPSV] on the social security of employees in the wake of structural changes, before taking up a new job.

[CTK] Why has the FMPSV issued the new decree?

[Horalek] The new decree is a uniform legal provision and takes effect on 1 January 1990. Effective the same day, the legal provisions of the FMPSV No. 74 of 1970 and No. 82 of 1988 will be rescinded. The decrees that will be rescinded had a different scope of validity. [passage omitted] Some problems, such as the material security of university graduates before taking up employment, were not addressed by them at all.

[CTK] What is the basic difference between the old and new decrees?

[Horalek] Under decree No. 74 of 1970, wage compensation was provided for 3 months after taking up new employment and for 6 months if a substantial change or expansion of the employee's qualifications was necessary. [passage omitted]

The new decree lays down the claim to wage compensation in a uniform way. During the first 3 months, the difference between the old and new earnings is offset in full. During the subsequent 3 months, 80 percent of the ascertained difference is offset. In the event of structural changes, the decision on which was made by the respective government, 50 percent of the ascertained difference in earnings will be offset for an additional 3 months. However, should the employee have to undergo requalification requiring at least 150 hours of training, he will be entitled to full wage compensation for the entire retraining period, for a maximum of 12 months. [passage omitted]

The new decree places emphasis on the employee's consent with his being retrained for a new job and it states that, if possible, the new job should be similar to the one performed previously. The old legal provision did not address these issues. Under the old legal provision, material security prior to the taking up of employment only applied to citizens who were dismissed for reasons of organizational changes and rationalization measures. In other cases, it was impossible to provide a benefit. [passage omitted]

Under the new decree, the benefit prior to the taking up of employment is provided generally to all citizens. That is, including those who had not been previously employed. This benefit is provided for a period of 6 months. It amounts to 60 percent of net average monthly earnings and to 90 percent if the release from the last job was connected with organizational changes. The benefit can be provided for an additional 6-month period. In this case it amounts to 60 percent of net average monthly earnings, but the maximum is set at Kcs2,400. Citizens who had not been employed in the last 3 years will receive a benefit of Kcs1,000 a month.

[CTK] Has foreign experience been considered in drawing up the new decree?

[Horalek] Yes, we took account of the legal regulations of both some socialist states and advanced European countries. Yet the new decree was conceived with due regard for Czechoslovak conditions and economic possibilities. In the law-governed European countries, material security prior to taking up employment varies. Both the amount and the period of support are limited. In the FRG, for example, the provision of support is limited to 12 months and to a maximum of 75 percent of [last] earnings. Similar regulations apply in France. In drawing up the decree, we also considered obligations which arise for the CSSR from international agreements.

Deputy Criticizes Policy on Minorities 28 Dec

AU0201200590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec p 2

[Report by Iveta Fryvaldova and Frantisek Zdobina on the 20th joint meeting of CSSR Federal Assembly chambers in Prague on 28 December]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our correspondents) [passage omitted] In response to many requests that have been phoned in, we include in our coverage [of the 20th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers held in Prague on 28 December] a substantial portion of the speech by Deputy Gejza Ujlaky. He said, among other things: We, citizens of Hungarian nationality, trust that our leading state representatives will not permit similar mistakes in nationality policy as those committed over the past 40 years when the rights of the Hungarian and the other ethnic minorities have been systematically and gradually pared down. Deputy Ujlaky further pointed out that cultural ties with the mother country have been limited to a minimum, the system of schools for ethnic minorities gradually narrowed down, and ethnic disputes kindled from the center. We must realize, the deputy continued, that the chance to come to terms with these issues once and for all is now in our hands. He recommended that one should start with a reassessment of the Kosice Government Program [of 1945], that a ministry for nationality issues be set up at the federal level, that damned [odsudene] ethnic minorities be rehabilitated, and that the nationality school policy be reassessed and students allowed to study at secondary schools and universities in Hungary or elsewhere. In concluding the deputy stressed that "the implementation of these demands will to a considerable extent contribute to the democratization of our society and will guarantee that the CSSR will be a true home to the ethnic minorities." [passage omitted]

Skoda Car Factory Changes Name

AU0301091290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec 89 p 2

["ZA"-signed report from the "Per teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The national enterprise AZNP Mlada Boleslav announces the change of its name. Instead of the present name it will be called—as of 1 January 1990—Skoda, automobile concern, Mlada Boleslav.

RUDE PRAVO Board Sends Letter to Congress

LD1412095689 Prague CTK in English 0849 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 14 (CTK)—Incapability to tell the truth about the events of November 17 when a students' demonstration was brutally suppressed led to a collapse of confidence in RUDE PRAVO, communists of the Czechoslovak Communist Party paper editorial board said in a letter to delegates to the party's extraordinary congress, printed today.

"The effort of many of us to give a true picture of the November 17 events and to clarify their political roots was foiled by a handful of members of the former Communist Party leadership who got hold of the party and took 1,700,000 members hostage of their policy," RUDE PRAVO said.

RUDE PRAVO is still the organ of the Communist Party Central Committee. Bitter experiences have shown that this in fact led to its subordination to a few persons in the leadership and apparatus of the party. The letter therefore urged making RUDE PRAVO an organ of the whole party, as it was when the paper was founded, and appointing a new editorial board.

New MLADA FRONTA Chief Editor

AU2112151589 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 1

["MF"-signed report: "New Chief Editor"]

[Excerpts] Libor Sevcik is the first chief editor in the almost 45-year history of MLADA FRONTA to be elected by the editorial collective in free elections. [passage omitted] The management of the daily MLADA FRONTA includes further chief editors Borek Hanus, Martin Komarek, and Jaroslav Pesek. The chief editor thanked Karel Pacner for his work in the provisional management; he will continue to work as the daily's science commentator.

Radio Staff Seek Risko's Ouster From Assembly

LD2912225989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Dr Karel Stary, the central director of Czechoslovak radio, Dr Josef Kleibl, chairman of the Radio Strike Committee, and Karel Weinlich, Czechoslovak radio's Civic Forum spokesman, have sent an open letter on behalf of radio staff to the electorate in the Zlate Moravce constituency.

In the letter, they express surprise at the fact that the constituency is still represented in the Federal Assembly by deputy Jan Risko, the former director of Czechoslovak radio. In the 18 years in which he held that post, he always put his own personal interests above those of his subordinates and the working people as a whole, and this was recognized by radio staff. In the Living Words program and other radio speeches, he always vehemently supported the so-called normalization policy, and fully endorsed the Husak leadership and the other former party and state representatives who led society as a whole into deep crisis. He also fully demonstrated his personal attitudes in his speeches at the December sessions of the Federal Assembly, including the latest one yesterday.

We believed that he himself would make a self-critical assessment of his work in the past 20 years and resign his deputy's seat. This, however, has not happened, and therefore radio staff appeal to the electorate in Zlate Moravce constituency to relieve him of his deputy's post as soon as possible.

CTK Outlines New Periodicals To Be Published

LD3012133989 Prague CTK in English 1228 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 29 (CTK)—At least twenty new papers and periodicals that have already been registered with the Federal Press and Information Office will start to be published as from January 1, 1990.

The most widely spread will be LIDOVE NOVINY (PEOPLE'S DAILY), a paper independent of political parties. At the beginning it will be published every other day, from April it is expected to become a daily. Its editor-in-chief Jiri Ruml, who was constantly persecuted after 1968 and started to publish the paper illegally in 1987, wants to follow up the good tradition of this paper dating back to the pre-war period.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party will issue its weekly SVOBODNY ZITREK (FREE FUTURE) in 80,000 copies.

The NOVINAR (Journalist) Publishing House will resume the publication of the weekly REPORTER which earned excellent reputation in the 1968-69 period, and will start publication of a humoristic monthly SKRT (SCRATCH).

The Preparatory Committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party has already started issuing the paper PRAVO LIDU although it has not been registered yet.

Noteworthy among other new periodicals is the LACHO LAV (GOOD WORD) monthly intended for Romas (Gypsies).

The new quarterly PURO REVUE will concentrate on problems of ecology.

Modrow Meets With Roundtable Leaders

LD0201144390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1409 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Questions of cooperation between the government and the roundtable were the subject of a discussion held by Prime Minister Hans Modrow with representatives of the parties and groups taking part in the roundtable in the Council of Ministers building today.

Hans Modrow emphasized that the government is looking for advice and needed advice, and he reaffirmed his readiness for constructive cooperation with the roundtable. "If we do not succeed," the prime minister said, "in creating together a climate of mutual respect, a climate of confidence-building, we will also not succeed in having the necessary climate for free and democratic elections on 6 May."

The ensuing discussion was marked by the willingness of all sides to ensure jointly the path of further democratization of the country. A number of the suggestions by representatives of the parties and groups for improving cooperation were taken up immediately by Hans Modrow, and he promised that others will be examined by the government.

New Forum representatives called off at short notice their participation in the discussion, to which the prime minister had issued invitations.

16 Parties Begin 5th Roundtable Talks

LD0301094690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0859 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Representatives of 16 parties, political groupings, and organizations of the GDR commenced the 5th meeting of the roundtable on Wednesday morning in Berlin. Following a welcome from Karl-Heinz Ducke of the Berlin Bishops Conference, they will give priority in accordance with the agreed agenda to a debate on questions of the economy and justice. Deputy Prime Minister Christa Luft and further government representatives are present for this. [passage omitted]

Luft Addresses Talks

LD0301112190 Hamburg DPA in German 1023 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Economic policy matters were at the center this morning of the fifth session of the roundtable talks in East Berlin. Economics Minister Christa Luft (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) [SED] told the representatives of the People's Chamber parties and of the opposition that the GDR must acquire more credit. The reason for this is that the foreign exchange revenue for 1989, at U.S. $9.3 billion, is less than expenditure, which stands at about $11.7 billion. [passage omitted]

Economics Minister Christa Luft gave the roundtable details on the GDR's foreign debt. The foreign commitments to the nonsocialist countries amounts at present to a total of U.S. $20.6 billion.

The minister estimated credit with Western banks at between $7-9 billion. Mrs Luft regretted that, of these foreign debts, only some 20 percent are invested on a long-term and constructive basis, such as in the import of modern equipment. The majority of the resources was allocated for imports of consumer goods, for securing production, and so on. The government had "inherited this."

On the subject of the GDR deficit in the foreign exchange account for 1989, Mrs Luft said that of the U.S. $9.3 billion of revenue, 75 percent comes from the export of goods and services. The remainder results from the transportation of goods and persons and agreements between the GDR and the Federal Republic. Of the $11.7 billion expenditure, only some 9.5 billion is required for, among other things, the financing of imports and for interest payments.

Commentary Views Roundtable Talks

AU2912190489 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 27 Dec 89 p 1

[Axel Knack commentary: "Roundtable—And What Now?"]

[Text] Last Friday [22 December],the representatives of 16 parties, groups, and organizations met for the first time for the roundtable talks in Berlin's Dietrich-Bonhoeffer House. In line with a statement, which was unanimously adopted at the first round at the beginning of December, this body considers itself neither a parliamentary body nor one with a government function. It wants to address the public with proposals to overcome the crisis in the country.

For this it needs competence. Competence, for its part, presupposes technical knowledge, that is, knowledge about the real situation in the country. Concerning the economic side, on Friday Deputy Prime Minister Christa Luft was invited to the roundtable and answered questions. Above all, she cited the weak points and stated how problems, at least some problems, could be solved from the government's viewpoint. For many others, the Modrow Cabinet still lacks the recipes.

Week by week it becomes clearer that the new team is making honest efforts: initiatives for new laws, operational decisions for speedy changes, first strategic considerations.

However, despite all the answers that Mrs Luft was able to give in the Bonhoeffer House, criticism was naturally voiced again—its core: The publication of the ecological, economic, and financial situation by the government has not yet taken place. Whether one looks at this matter in this way or in another way—at the moment no one seems to be able to present these data precisely. This should also be taken into consideration at the roundtable. Nevertheless, there are probably many ideas there, the use of which by a "shadow Cabinet" would not help anyone. Perhaps the premier would, therefore, be well advised to bring political and technical competence from the roundtable to the government table. A decision to participate in work there (or not to participate) would clear up some inconsistencies.

New Forum Regards Modrow as 'Transitional'

LD0201212290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1936 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—New Forum regards Prime Minister Hans Modrow's Cabinet as a transitional government with limited authority until the free elections on 6 May. This was underlined at a news conference of representatives of the National Council of Spokespersons and the Berlin spokeswoman of the citizens' movement.

Recently, they said, there has been a strengthening impression that the roundtable is not being taken seriously by the government. New Forum rejected Prime Minister Hans Modrow's invitation to the opposition groups taking part in the roundtable because the talks have to take place not behind closed doors but publicly. That is why a separate invitation to the New Forum by Modrow was also turned down. How long New Forum continues to take part in the roundtable depends on whether the outstanding questions are answered. A decision on whether New Forum will continue to take part in the roundtable will be made after the next talk on 3 January.

On the recent events with an extreme right-wing tendency, Rolf Henrich of the National Council of Spokespersons said that these acts are abhorrent and must be punished. They should be tackled primarily at the grass-roots level, for example in the schools and youth clubs, and—not first of all—at an administrative level.

Steps Up Criticism

LD0301084190 Hamburg DPA in German 0821 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR opposition group New Forum has stepped up its criticism of the government of Prime Minister Hans Modrow and has called into question its further participation in the so-called roundtable. A co-founder of the New Forum, the scientist Jens Reich said on "Deutschlandfunk" this morning that the joint discussions served at present only to appease the population. The government has as yet provided no response to many outstanding questions. In the future the opposition must be informed of important political and eocnomic decisions in the preparatory phase, in order to be able to exercise some influence. Otherwise the New Forum sees no point in further participation. The roundtable talks enter their fifth round today.

New Forum Launches Initiative for Expatriates

AU3012092889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Initiative for the Benefit of Expatriates"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The National Spokesmen Council of New Forum has called on the government to offer former GDR citizens, who were expatriated in the past against their will or were forced to agree to expatriation through great psychological pressure, the regaining of GDR citizenship in a dignified manner. Through their example in particular, these people had an essential share in the changes that have now been achieved by struggle in the GDR.

New Forum on Creation of German Forum Party

LD3012222689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1923 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—"To be able to conduct the fight with the gathering forces of the old order, a united New Forum citizens' movement is needed right now." This is emphasized in a statement of the National Council of spokespersons of New Forum about the founding of a party in Karl-Marx-Stadt, conveyed to ADN today. "Our objective of dissolving the old power and constructing democracy has not been achieved! We will (?put forward) our own candidates in all the people's representations, and continue to work at grass-roots level." Anyone striving with formal arguments to set up a party under the name New Forum is splitting this movement and strengthening the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] the statement stresses. [passage omitted]

According to the national council of spokespersons, New Forum intends to explain its attitude toward the roundtable and the Modrow government at a news briefing in Berlin on 2 January.

New Forum on Reunification, Investigations

AU2912192989 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 27 Dec 89 p 7

[Interview with New Forum spokesman Frank Eigenfeld by Matthias Frede in Halle; date not given: "Active for True Democracy"]

[Excerpts] DM: How many Halle citizens have so far signed the New Forum appeal for dialogue, and what basic statements are contained in the drafts for a statute and for the basic values and programs of action that have been presented now?

Eigenfeld: We have about 10,000 signatures. We consider ourselves an open citizens' movement with a basic democratic orientation, and we have stated from the very beginning that we want to accept political responsibility. This includes putting up our own candidates at all levels, up to the People's Chamber. The focal issues and basic values called for in our regional and supraregional activities, which will be set down in the abovementioned documents, include the assertion of democracy in all spheres of life, social justice, economic reason, an environment worth living in, and the assertion of basic human rights, such as freedom of opinion, assembly, association, and of the press.

DM: What is your view on the unification of the two German states?

Eigenfeld: Many members of New Forum reject immediate unification, in particular the taking over of the FRG economic system, which is oriented toward capital. Nevertheless, we, too, are striving for a performance-oriented society and consider the division to be unnatural. However, bringing together the two German states will be possible only within the framework of a European solution and in the form of a long-term process. In this connection, we first have to organize our independent joint decision-making in view of the already dynamic development of history. Free and secret elections are a decisive precondition for this. [passage omitted]

DM: New Forum has called for and initiated the investigative committee for the investigation of abuse of office and enrichment, and of all grievances in Halle Bezirk [area]. It also participated in securing buildings and documents. What is the state of affairs?

Eigenfeld: The roundtable must also clear the table, because there is no real new beginning without completely coming to grips with the past. Therefore, publication and control are a basic condition for our parliamentary cooperation. The New Forum representative in the committee is Michael Klapperstueck. We are getting an increasing number of reports from the people, from enterprises, and from administrative institutions. I receive 5 to 10 letters a day; we ask the senders for patience with our answer, because the detailed facts are very complicated because of a lack of exact information and technical knowledge. In addition, the new way of thinking has by far not gained ground, in particular in the lower echelons and with the mostly old managers. Therefore, we have submitted the proposal to form competent enterprise councils from among the respective working people for such investigations. In addition, further regional committees will be necessary for real, profound control, which is hardly possible at the moment. [passage omitted]

Students Suspected of Cemetery Desecration

LD0301104990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1006 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—The GDR's criminal investigation bureau has been investigating a group of young people in Gera, who are suspected of having desecrated graves in the Soviet military cemetry in the Thuringian area [bezirk] town on New Year's night. They are six students from the 9th and 10th grades and an 18-year-old apprentice.

They have admitted that several of them damaged the graves following celebrations of the new year and after they had shouted anti-Soviet slogans in a residential area inhabited by Soviet citizens.

Lieutenant Colonel Hans-Juergen Winter, head of the People's Police criminal invistigation district office, told the press that the youngsters do not have previous convictions nor are they members of the radical right-wing. They all come from ordered family circumstances. Their parents had been alarmed by the events.

Poll Shows Support for Modrow Government

LD2912191189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A representative poll conducted by sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences shows that 52.1 percent of the GDR citizens believe the Modrow government has a grip on all proceses connected with the social development; 34.2 percent believe so, with reservations. Only 5.4 percent believe the government is incapable.

Hans Modrow is liked by nearly 53 percent of the citizens. In an earlier poll in November, the figure was about 42 percent. Gregor Gysi's standing rose from 3 to 13, Wolfgang Berghofer's from 0.7 to 5 percent, while that of Professor Manfred Gerlach plummetted from 4.7 to 1.3 percent; 14.2 percent found no one to their liking.

While announcing the results on Friday, Dr Uwe Burmester, head of the "opinion poll" group, pointed out the great differences in the poll results between town and country population as well as between inhabitants of the capital and of the areas (bezirke).

About half—48 percent—of those polled consider the pace in the economy and 38.2 percent that in the state apparatus as too slow. In contrast, the pace of democratization in political life appears to be correct for 41.4 percent, while 23.9 percent are of the view that it was too fast.

The interviewers offered four options for the future of the two German states: two in which the GDR remains a sovereign state that two-thirds of those polled would like to see realized in 5 to 10 years (treaty-based community: 69.2 percent; All-European Federation: 55.7 percent). The poll found 14.3 percent were in favor of the GDR becoming a federal state of the FRG, 9.2 percent in favor of the unconditional annexation to the FRG. (some crossed two options.)

Answers to the question for which party or organization they would vote were SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] 34 percent (November 31.5); CDU [Christian Democratic Union]

7.9 (1.7); New Forum 5.8 (9.0); SDP [Social Democratic Party] 5.4 (3.1); LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] 2.6 (7.9); NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] 2.0 (0.6); Democratic Awakening 2.0 (0.5), DBD [Democratic Peasant Party of Germany] 1.6 (0.5). If nearly 42 percent were still undecided in November, the figure now is only 28.2 percent.

Over 90 percent of the citizens hope for improved travel and contact opportunities with other countries in 1990. About half believe the personal living standard will remain unchanged; 43 percent hope it will increase; 53 percent believe social security will remain guaranteed [at its present level] while one-quarter believe it would deteriorate.

Changes Made in CDU Presidium at Conference

AU3012084689 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 27 Dec 89 p 1

[NZ report: "Conclusion for Further Work"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—At its session on 23 December 1989, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany evaluated the extraordinary party congress and drew conclusions—both concerning contents and personnel—for its further political work. [passage omitted]

The Presidium elected Werner Lechtenfeld as executive secretary of the Executive Committee and appointed department heads of the Executive Committee's office. [passage omitted]

A conference of the Executive Committee will take place in Burgscheidungen on 5 and 6 January 1990.

Demonstration for Sovereign GDR in Schwerin

AU3012093189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "In Schwerin's Streets for a Sovereign GDR"]

[Text] Schwerin—The GDR must not become a land of the FRG. About 1,500 inhabitants of Schwerin—according to estimates by the People's Police—demonstrated for this on Tuesday afternoon [26 December]. During their march through the inner city, they warned with banners against a sellout of the GDR and spoke up in favor of state sovereignty. There were partly heated discussions with citizens who advocated different views.

The march had been called last week by the "For Our Country" initiative group. A flier, which was distributed by this group, said, among other things: "We want a sovereign German state on a liberal-democratic, humanist basis, which takes up and continues the ideas of the Paris Commune and of the 1918 November revolution."

Legitimacy of Modrow Government Discussed

AU0101113090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

[Rolf Guenther editorial: "Legitimized"]

[Text] Asked by journalists on the fringe of the meeting in Dresden whether they "get on" with each other, Helmut Kohl and Hans Modrow did not hesitate for a moment in saying yes. Indeed, all observers clearly saw that the talks went well. The interlocutors respected each other, even in case of differences in opinion.

This was based, in my view, not only on the personal relationship, which sometimes develops between politicians at the negotiating table (that is not unimportant); sometimes it does not. It also was the expression of the reputation that the premier and his coalition government have gained at the international level within a short time. Journalists from the other state confirmed that Modrow is the main interlocutor for the FRG chancellor. Because it is this government—if anybody at all—that is trusted to prevent the derailment of the train of restructuring in the current emotion-filled situation in the GDR and to keep the country alive. Because this government is working with competence and in a businesslike way and pushes ahead with the reform processes. Because its actions are guided by the responsibility for Europe's stability and peace.

In the meanthime, in many countries people are speaking of the community of treaties between the GDR and the FRG, a concept that is linked with the name of the GDR premier.

In this connection, one really has to be surprised when some people in our country raise the question of whether this govenrment is "legitimized." It was elected by the acting parliament. And its legitimation also is in its strenous efforts to save this country and for good living conditions of the citizens, which—as the Dresden meeting proved—does not remain without results.

SED-PDS Advertises Position in Newspaper

AU2912202389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec 89 p 3

[One-page advertisement with a picture showing Hans Modrow, Gregor Gysi, and Wolfgang Berghofer in the upper left corner and a stylized drawing of the GDR on which the text of the advertisement is written]

[Text] SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] for the interests of the working people.

Lining up against the right.

What we want:

—radical renewal and democratization of society in every corner of the country;

—democratic socialism and free development of the individual;

—a European peace order in a European home;

—high efficiency, performance principle, and full employment;

—defense of public property, its true possession by the working people;

—a strong peasantry;

—apartments with affordable rents, nurseries and kindergartens, free education and health care;

—healthy nutrition, which everyone can afford;

—real equality and equal rights of the sexes;

—rule of law;

—environmental protection;

—a society of culture, in which literature, the arts, and sciences can develop freely.

What we do not want:

—neo-fascism and ultra-rightism, nationalism, hatred of foreigners;

—a nationalist solution of the German question;

—economic sellout of the GDR and having it gobbled up by capital;

—the sale of our soil;

—an elbowing society or a two-thirds society;

—unemployment, homelessness, drugs, and prostitution;

—environmental pollution;

—intellectual patronage and restriction of research.

What we do not want ever again:

—corruption and abuse of office;

—unjustified privileges;

—Stalinism;

—political prisoners.

We want to bear responsibility for this country, which is our homeland!

Dissolution of Workers Militia Viewed

AU0101114190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

["P.V." editorial: "Renewal and Workers Militia"]

[Text] The GDR Government has decided that the workers militias will not exist anymore. Their weapons, which have always been stored under control of the People's Police, will be taken over by the Interior Ministry.

This is a consequence of the renewal of the political system and of socialism in the GDR, in which there must be clear legal bases and powers for the state organs for the protection of the sovereignty and the internal order. Concerning the existence of the workers militias in their current form, the only alternatives to attributing them to the system of national defense—as in the past—was to put them under state orders and parliamentary control or to stop their activities. Opinions voiced also from the ranks of the workers militias advocated the dissolution. This does not mean that there were not many members of the workers militias in favor of preserving the existing organizations because of their honest view of the protective function of the workers militias for their enterprises and public property.

In particular, military reasons are comprehensible—and decisive for the decision. They are linked with the military doctrine, the core of which is exclusively defense and the prevention of war.

The treaty partnership, which should be a security partnership, which is striven for by the GDR Government and which envisions the reductions of armed forces and rules out any kind of "forward defense"—that is on the territory of the other party—contains in its core the incapacity to attack. Territorial defense, the protection of the enterprises, in which the members of the workers militias have so far been included and for which they had been equipped and trained, can be organized in the future in line with the concept of sufficient defense without the workers militia units. Thus, their primary reason for existence is eliminated. At no time were the workers militias an instrument against the people. With justification, the members of some units, who were supposed to confront peaceful demonstrators over the past months, opposed this intended abuse.

The members of the workers militias—two-thirds of them are members of the Socialist Unity Party, the others are non-affiliated or members of other parties—have gained recognition through their dedication and their example at the workplace and through their additional, voluntary service in the workers militia in their collectives.

Service in the workers militia will not exist any more. Part of the members, who are reservists according to the military service law, will be again included in the planning of the defense commands. Others, who are older, will certainly work with personal dedication for order and enterprise safety in their sphere of work. They are called upon to continue being representatives of law, order, and nonviolence and to not permit slander, defamation, and psychological terror. As workers, as working persons, their place also is in the committee of citizens or workers in the enterprises, who do not tolerate abuse of office, corruption, violations or law, or violence.

Our thanks for their readiness to work and their sense of responsibility in the service of the people go to them and to the officers of the German People's Police, as well as to all those who altruistically worked for the workers militias.

Gysi Discusses Future Party Policy

LD3012084589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0307 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"I plead for the GDR: We announce our absolute determination for the independence and sovereignty of our country, for the resolution of the German question in a European framework, not as a German special path." The party chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], Gysi, has asserted this in an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, which was published today.

"I would hope that we can enter the elections as an ethically purged, self-renewing party, as a party that is credible, that represents democratic socialism and social security, a party that is elected because, among other things, it assumes a great responsibility for our country and will continue to do so in future. At present I can see no other movement that would be in a position to take on this responsibility. I can see only a vacuum. We will achieve stability in conjunction with other political forces, but not without the SED-PDS."

As the party chairman emphasized further, the SED-PDS advocates "open, peaceful, friendly but secure borders and a comprehensive treaty-based community with the FRG, but opposes any absorption by the FRG, any German-nationalist frenzy. We must learn to become more European." Gysi therefore wants to support, among other things, the creation of genuine requirements for travel also to Paris, London, Rome, or Madrid.

In his words, the generation of communists, socialists, social democrats and humanists who had gone to the concentration camps or emigrated for the sake of a better world, need "by no means be ashamed. For completely irrespective of any political errors the party may then have made—even if it is judged so in the history books—the decisive factor remains: They selflessly sacrificed themselves for a better future, for their fellow human beings who barely pay attention to or even scorn the resistance fighters." According to Gysi, the generation "that tried after 1945, with the necessary dedication, passion, and insight, to build a better Germany," can also be proud. "A great deal was achieved in this way. But this very way has been so distorted by the Stalinist system, that the achievements can hardly be perceived today. We must remove the negative elements as soon as possible, in order to render the achievements visible once again." These generations did not live in vain, the party leader stressed. "They paved the way for us to have the chance at all today to develop a democratic socialism."

Gysi on Political Models, Necessary Changes

AU1112151589 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 11 Dec 89 p 5

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany chairman, by Robert Misik in East Berlin "after his election on his way to the bus stop": "Gregor Gysi: 'We Are for Grass-roots Democracy'"]

[Text] NEUE AZ: What does the new chairman think about the chances of his party?

Gysi: If you are asking about forecasts for elections, I do not want to and I cannot say anything about it. So many things can still change. As regards the political situation, the matter is more complicated. The situation can escalate, and it is necessary to prevent this.

The biggest problem is that we have to do so many things at the same time. And, unfortunately, it is true both for the party and for the government: We do not have time.

NEUE AZ: Do you have political models?

Gysi: Of course, several....

NEUE AZ: Which ones?

Gysi: Gorbachev, for instance....

NEUE AZ: Was this party congress, which is not yet over but has been adjourned for a week, the new beginning, as you have imagined?

Gysi: No. For a simple reason: The change should have been made earlier. But, under the current conditions, matters have taken the course I hoped for.

NEUE AZ: Which guidelines will you set down now—over the next week—since the danger of the party's dissolution has not yet been banished?

Gysi: I am not setting down any guidelines, we are for grass-roots democracy. This is already a radical change per se. A radical break with Stalinism. And this, this radical change, is also the consensus of the party congress. It is only logical in such a difficult situation that in other questions there may not be a consensus.

And there is one more important thing for me to say: A delegate said something very important: "We need warmth in the party again." This has not been the case for years. It was not warmth but fear that was the uppermost feeling in the party.

Gysi Comments on Future Party Role

AU1112225089 Frankfurt/Main
FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 11 Dec 89 p 19

[Report on interview with Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany chairman, by ZDF television correspondents Klaus Bresser and Klaus-Peter Siegloch; date and place not given—"For a Strong Leftist Party That Is Not Only Based on Communist Traditions"]

[Text] Immediately after his election as the new chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], Gregor Gysi was confronted with a new challenge: An interview with Western journalists. The 41-year-old Gysi answered questions by Klaus Bresser and Klaus-Peter Siegloch from the ZDF studio in Berlin. He talked about the loss of confidence that the party has suffered, about the new bearers of hope in his party, about the "anachronism" of the concept of a (re)united Germany, and about a socialist democracy to which he wants to adhere as a realistic utopia. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU publishes a slightly abridged version of the interview.

Bresser: What next, Mr Gysi? The SED is finished, the people have deprived it of its power. You are aiming at a complete renewal of the party; there are plans to give it a new name. Comrade Dr Gysi, will you remain a communist?

Gysi: Yes, certainly.

Siegloch: No matter what you promised at this party congress, as to how, as a communist, you want to renew society toward democratic socialism, people no longer believe you. During 40 years of dictatorship the SED has lost the people's confidence. Would it not have been more consistent to dissolve the SED?

Gysi: No, because I think this would have led to a vacuum that might entail unpredictable consequences for the country, not only for the party. This country needs a strong leftist party that is not only based on communist traditions and that is ready to assume its political responsibility within this radical revolutionary renewal.

Question: Do you think that this is realistic? During the past few weeks, a million members have abandoned the party. Those who remain in the party no longer dare to wear their party badges. The SED is booed in public, and socialism is considered a swearword. At this point you arrive and want to save this ailing association.

Answer: Well, you know I do not believe that the SED is an ailing association. This party has millions of members who are very committed and sincerely involved in the social processes.

Question: Well, their number may be around 1.6 million.

Answer: Well, their number is still over 1 million. I do not know where you get your figures. I am not familiar with the latest figures, and have not found time so far to obtain corresponding information. Of course, I know that a large number of people have canceled membership in the party because they are disappointed, and I am sorry about that. Those who were only members because they thought this might increase their influence—in short, political careerists—I do not really miss. However, I believe that we will regain the confidence of these members and be able to give them hope, and that they will become a strong force again. By the way, it is not true that every member of our party is being insulted. This may be true in some cases, in others it is not. The mood varies in towns and villages. So far, I have not been confronted with the fact that people do not believe me.

Question: You have repeatedly promised a radical renewal of the party. What is left of the SED? Why should citizens in the GDR vote for the SED?

Answer: Well, these are two different questions. First of all, what is left are the traditions of the workers movement that were the basis of the SED. This party has contributed to building this country after 1945. However, with its Stalinist, centralist-administrative structures, it is has caused the current crisis, and one must be able to live with this history while at the same time being able to launch a radical renewal. Other parties—parties with a much worse history—have also done this, such as the CPSU.

Question: It is true that the party is still present in the enterprises and the bureaucratic apparatus. It has controlled the state, the economy, and society for decades. In order to regain some of its credibility, should it not withdraw from all these spheres, and will you ensure this, will you give corresponding orders?

Answer: Well, as far as credibility is concerned, this does certainly not involve a withdrawal from all spheres. In such case, it would simply disappear. Credibility involves trying to make a contribution with sincere arguments while guaranteeing equal opportunities for the individual political groups.

Question: Well, it should withdraw from the spheres where it is not needed. Why does it have to be present in the enterprises?

Answer: This is an old tradition, and we have made it clear that we are in favor of the basic organizations organizing themselves primarily on a regional basis. However, the members of the party will still meet in the enterprises and discuss the problems of the enterprises, but the actual structure will increasingly be oriented toward the regions. This is also linked with the new elections and with the new forms of elections. It will be necessary to launch election campaigns primarily in the residential areas. (...) [punctuation as published]

Question: Mr Gysi, you are only 41 years old, but you have been an SED member for a long time. Your father, Klaus Gysi, was culture minister and state secretary for church affairs. Given this background, have you not noted anything of the corruption and abuse of office that prevailed within the party?

Answer: When did I claim that?

Question: What did you note, and when did you note it?

Answer: Well, you know, this was an ongoing process. It broadened as the time passed. With the increasing autocratic rule of the party, the leadership's autocratic rule also increased, and as a result, at a certain point the autocratic rule of the first man increased within this leadership. If you want to ask questions about my father, please ask my father. I can only tell you that he has been living in a normal apartment in central Berlin for many years. In addition, when he assumed the posts that you mentioned, I was well over 18 and living at my mother's place. Thus, I had little to do with politics. Because of my specific activity as a lawyer, and here again because of my specific clientele, I had hardly anything—most of the time nothing—to do with the former leading officials of this country. There were not points of contact.

Question: Mr Gysi, you have been a lawyer for 18 years. There must have been a certain point when you noted that this party, of which you are a member, was establishing a system, a rule that was not governed by law. Why did you not take any specific action at this point?

Answer: Well, one cannot make such general statements. The sphere of law is very wide, and there are also legal fields that I would describe as progressive, where even your country copied parts of our laws, and then there was also the crucial sphere of the political criminal law and the insufficiently formulated basic rights with numerous exemptions and restrictions. What you are saying is not true. The lawyers have struggled against such regulations for years and submitted proposals. They may not have done this in public or in public in the sense as it is done today, however, this kind of publicity did not exist at the time. I am a member of the SED because I believe in certain ideals and I will not be distracted by these centralist and administrative structures from my belief that the day will come when it will again be possible to fight for these ideals.

Question: Do you regret not having initiated changes in the party at an earlier point, and not having fought for ideals?

Answer: It is other things that I regret. I regret that the party did not use the chance that it had in 1985. You know that the development of this country and this party is, of course, closely linked with the development of the Soviet Union and the CPSU. Certain deviations were possible until 1985, which also existed. There was also a certain independence but there were certain limits to it. Fundamental and revolutionary changes were initiated in the Soviet Union in 1985, and those who were interested in politics knew at the time that these changes were also necessary in our country—not in the sense of a cheap copy because our conditions were completely different, but as a matter of principle. Increasing dissatisfaction emerged within the party from this point on, and there were increasingly heated debates primarily among the basic organizations. This development reached a negative climax during last year.

Question: As a lawyer, you pleaded the case of many opponents to the regime in court at a relatively early point, as a matter of fact. Your most recent case was New Forum, which the state power did not want to recognize. Numerous members of these opposition groups have been pleading for a reformed socialism. Why did you not join these new forces but remained in the SED?

Answer: This has certainly something to do with my development, with my reservations against these movements in political and structural terms.

Question: What reservations? Can you sum them up briefly?

Answer: This is difficult. However, if you take New Forum, it does not have any clear political program at the moment. Also, I really feel like a communist—not in a one-sided sense, but in the sense that I also want to include social democratic, pacifist, and socialist traditions. This is why my place is in this party, and I have always believed that we can renew it and reform it. So, why should I join another party if I think that this strong party can pursue the path on which we have tried to embark now.

Question: Well, one can no longer speak of a strong party, it is only one of several parties in the GDR. You have to accept that. You also have to prepare yourself for the fact that you may be completely ousted on 6 May. What percentage of votes do you expect for the SED?

Answer: I do not want to mention any figures here because they would lack every substance. I do not have the results of opinion polls or such that would enable me to make reliable predictions. In addition, you must not forget that we are living at a fast-moving time when statements made today may be wrong 3 days later. We will struggle, and we will not primarily struggle for ourselves, but for this country, and for this country's independence. However, I do not want to give a campaign speech now because then I could say a great deal more on this issue.

Question: You have already given an election speech.

Prime Minister Modrow does not expect more than 20 percent of the vote for the SED. As he told DER SPIEGEL, the SED offers itself as some sort of junior partner in a coalition government. He explicitly used the term coalition government. The SDP, the Social Democratic Party in the GDR, has already rejected this offer. Who is your coalition partner?

Answer: Well, basically, I consider all democratic forces that act on the basis of the constitution—a constitution that still has to be drafted—possible partners in a coalition. I do not want to exclude anybody from the outset.

At this point, not enough is known about the movement to be able to make a specific statement. By the way, 20 percent would be quite good. However, we still have some time. So, let us renew ourselves and fight, and we will see the results on 6 May.

Question: Do you consider it conceivable to be the first communist power in the East bloc to be completely pushed out of power?

Answer: No, I do not want to imagine that.

Question: Mr Gysi, in the course of an interview we always ask the interviewee to spontaneously complete sentences that we begin. The first sentence we would like you to complete starts like this: For me the construction of the Wall ...

Answer: ...was a very decisive event in the life of this nation. I am still convinced that it was necessary at the time.

Question: 17 June 1953...

Answer: ...is a very problematic date in the GDR's history that will require some more clarification. I was too young at this point to recall events today, but I believe that this is one of the points in the GDR's history that should be more closely examined.

Question: If Gorbachev falls...

Answer: This would not be good at all, and therefore I do not want to think about it. I presume that the Soviet people also know how important this man is for the country.

Question: My next holiday...

Answer: ...I want to spend calmly, if this is possible.

Question: What I regret most is...

Answer: ...that there may have been things that I should have done earlier and more clearly and sharply.

Question: For me the Social Democratic Party of Germany is...

Answer: ...a very interesting and important partner for talks. It is a party from which one can learn a great deal, but which one should not copy. I hope that such talks will take place.

Question: About Helmut Kohl I admire...

Answer: ...maybe the calm and composure with which he takes certain attacks.

Question: If somebody calls me a Napoleon...

Answer: ...I find this quite silly. My height my be the only reason justifying such a comparison.

Question: I have the following things in common with Egon Krenz...

Answer: I cannot answer this. I do not know him well enough.

Question: If I lose the elections with the SED...

Answer: ...I will continue to struggle in whatever function within the party to ensure the required political influence.

Question: We can learn from the FRG...

Answer: ...how to achieve a high level of economic efficiency, which we must, however, link with a considerably higher degree of social protection.

Question: In the year 2000, the GDR...

Answer: ...will hopefully be incorporated in a European home where the state matters are of little importance and social aspects have assumed such significance that there is no longer any need to discuss certain issues that are so important today.

Question: However, many citizens in the GDR are not only chanting "We are the people" but also "We are one people," and "Germany, united fatherland." If a majority of GDR citizens now decides that it wants a united Germany, will you accept this?

Answer: We will accept any kind of election result. However, I believe that we will succeed in convincing the majority of the population of the importance of the GDR's independence. Let me add something else in this connection: There is a certain link between the relatively high level of social services in the FRG and the existence of the GDR. A certain pressure would be taken away if the GDR did not exist. This would not be advantageous for your citizens.

Question: If the FRG did not exist, the citizens in the GDR would be much worse off.

Answer: I did not deny the fact that this also has an impact on our country.

Question: We were only asking. Prime Minister Hans Modrow speaks of a contractual community, Chancellor Kohl of federative structures. There is a willingness for cooperation on both sides. Let me ask you a final question: If contacts are expanded, do you think you could get used to the idea that has been voiced in this country and in your country as well, suggesting a common head of states for the two German states, such as Richard von Weizsaecker or Willy Brandt, for example?

Answer: Why do you mention examples from you country? We could also mention examples from our country. I could think of quite a few. Well, you know, I do not think that this is a topical issue. Let us think of the people in the two countries. What is important is to succeed in achieving cooperation in the sphere of economy, culture, and science that is really beneficial for the people in both states. We should not think about new state structures, common heads of states, or such like. People do not benefit from this. We must concentrate on everyday life and the structures of these relations, and not on questions concerning relations between the states that only give rise to insecurity among the neighboring countries, thus obstructing the desired goal instead of advancing it.

Question: A final question: Has Gorbachev already congratulated you?

Answer: No, he has not. I do not know whether he tried, but if he tried he would not have had a chance because you asked me so many questions that it would not have been possible for me to answer the phone.

Question: Thank you very much, Mr Gysi.

Gysi Reviews Changes in Party, Economy

AU1112140889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, Socialist Unity Party of Germany chairman, by Michael Kerbler "in the corridor of a house in an East Berlin street"; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kerbler] Mr Gysi, you are the chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which will change its name and which will perhaps be called the Socialist Party of Germany. It will get a new name. What are the specific details that distinguish it from the already existing Social Democratic Party [SDP] in the GDR?

[Gysi] We want a radical break with the Stalinist system. We want a really renewed party, a fundamentally renewed party, which is pledged to democratic-humanist goals, to the rule of law, and to other humanist principles, but which also strongly focuses on the social interests of the working people. Of course, at present many people call for democracy, and there are also many people who are concerned about economical management and higher efficiency. It must be my party's task to advocate all this while preserving social security, because this is one of those advantages that we have to preserve at any cost. Economical management alone is not enough, it must never pass by the interests of the people. This is also connected with many psychological questions.

[Kerbler] The central question to which everything is reduced at present is: How credible can a SED be with a new name, even though it may fill the old bucket with new contents, so to speak? Will the voters follow you, voters for whom you will have to struggle?

[Gysi] We will be able to judge this after the elections. I want to struggle for this. I do not want to make any forecasts now, but the comrades who have been elected to the party leadership are all persons of integrity—at least, I proceed from this premise; I do not know everyone myself—and they are also very dedicated politically. I hope that, as a fundamentally renewed party, we will be able to convince many people in our country that it is important not to permit a political vacuum. There is no one who could fill it. One has to understand this, and this would further escalate the critical situation and this would be completely contrary to the interests of the people in this country.

Let me say one thing more. You see, for instance, as regards the discussion about reunification and similar things: The people in our country only have this country. They do not have any other country, and they have only these enterprises, they do not have any other enterprises. I think we should preserve this, we have to do something about it ourselves. This was not the case in the past.

[Kerbler] But how can one believe a party whose members applauded Erich Honecker 8 weeks, 8 months ago? Have these members suddenly left their party conscience, their past convictions in the cloakroom?

[Gysi] No, you see, this is not the question. First, I do not know whether what you say applies to all members—that is, I am quite sure that it does not apply to all members. We were a party with more than 2 million members—thus, it is not justified at all to generalize. Second, it is not so easy to judge Erich Honecker's political biography. After all, he spent 10 years in prison because of his convictions, and this provides an enormous bonus of trust. Many things that we are learning now are things we would have believed of him, least of all.

Of course, this gives rise to great disappointment. But as to those comrades who have worked hard and honestly in the enterprises—why should they suddenly lose credibility? And even this is the case with some, we have to struggle so that people see that the issue is not a party as an institution, but people. One either has to decide for these people and to cooperate with them or against them. It is not the question of deciding for an institution. The structures have to be thoroughly renewed.

[Kerbler] Do you think that you will manage to cross the 10-percent threshold at the next elections on 6 May?

[Gysi] I do not know, I do not have any results of polls. I do not want to say anything unfounded and I will not start this now.

[Kerbler] But you are a man with a keen political sense. Do you believe that you will be a state-supporting party, even after 6 May?

[Gysi] I will struggle so that we will be a party that is able—also because of the number of votes that it will get—to accept the necessary political responsibility, which it must accept in this country in order to preserve the country's independence.

[Kerbler] Mr Gysi, one central question is how things will proceed in the economic field in the GDR. There are concepts that have been put on the table by the aforementioned SDP concerning more social market economy. What are the economic principles that the *SED—whatever its name will be in the future—intends* to put on the table so that the sellout of the GDR does not proceed at a gallop?

[Gysi] Permit me to make two remarks in this context: First, economic policy per se is the business of the government. We want to have the separation of the party and the government, so that in this respect we cannot make a decision. Of course, we can make proposals, like any other party or movement. We will do this.

However, we have just been elected. Please do not overtax us. I cannot present a finished concept to you—there is probably no one who can do this at the moment. But we know key values. We are in favor of considerably increasing economical management, that also means that cooperation with Western companies has to receive a completely different quality, but our task, in particular as a party that represents the interests of the working people, must, of course, be that we (?make sure) that there is no sellout, that the social interests of the working people are not neglected, that we do have to be worried about jobs and similar things, and that what we have achieved—that is, that the enterprises belong to the working people—is not given up but that we find new forms of cooperation, including joint ventures, etc., which do not endanger the basic values of our social system.

We also have to make sure that people who are incapable of surviving on their own, who are incapable of doing work, are not ignored. They must not be pushed to the margin of society. Of course, there is also the entire complex of problems of ecology—that is, doing economic work against the vital interests of mankind, at the expense of our environment. This cannot be in line with the time any more. You see, there is a number of key values, but there is not yet a concept.

[Kerbler] However, what you just said no longer fits into the concept of planned economy that has existed until now.

[Gysi] Well, if we have a radical renewal of the party and a revolutionary change in the country, it is clear that many things no longer fit into the past things. Otherwise, we would not need these changes.

[Kerbler] Does this mean that Gysi says no to a planned economy?

[Gysi] One cannot say this, because there is no country without planning. I will give you an example....

[Kerbler] This is dialectic.

[Gysi] No, no, this is not dialectic. I just have to say this. The most important thing is—I can formulate this in a positive way—that planning has to restrict itself to the most important key targets to preserve proportions in the national economy. Otherwise, everything is confused. However, what we have had so far, that is, that everything is clearly prescribed, [word indistinct], and *administratively regulated* down to the last detail, which led to preventing efficiency in economy, this must be eliminated without eliminating the things that make economic management possible in the first place. You will not be satisfied, but I am not an economic expert. I have to say this very clearly. I have told you about key values, which I support. But I will not go into any more detail, because I do not like to talk about things in which I am not competent. And now, please, let me work. Thank you.

Opposition Groups Appeal to Citizens

AU1512070089 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 6 Dec 89 p 4

["Text" of appeal issued by "new social groups and parties"—date and place not given]

[Text] Citizens!

The representatives of the new social groups and parties appeal to all GDR citizens.

We have heard that, in view of the state crisis,

—major financial and material assets are taken abroad

—important files and data are destroyed

—responsible persons try to escape from the country

These escapes and attempts at concealment have to be prevented!

You know in what enterprises, banks, and institutions the opportunities for such practices are given.

We especially appeal to the employees of enterprises belonging to the sector of commercial coordination.

Call staff meetings to establish control groups that are to prevent such dealings.

Brief the German People's Police and the public!

Contact other enterprises and citizens movements that enjoy your confidence!

Adopt joint controlling measures wherever this is necessary and make them public!

We have established an independent investigation committee that cooperates with the Modrow government and urgently needs any information!

We have called on the Modrow government to support the control exercised by you citizens in the economic and state apparatus.

The following principle is still valid: No violence!

Use the information telephone for Berlin: number 2 82 84 03/4 25.

Address: 1020 Berlin, Sophienstrasse 19, and turn directly to the Berlin Presidium of the German People's

Police, telephone number: *2 47 22 15, and the coordinating* organ of the attorney general in 1197 Berlin, Grossberliner Damm 59.

4 November Initiative Group of Berlin Representatives of Theater and Culture—Social Democratic Party—New Forum—Democratic Awakening [Neuer Aufbruch]—Democracy Now—Scientific Initiative Group of the Academy of Science and Peace and Human Rights Initiative.

Further on Visit by CSSR's Havel

At Brandenburg Gate

LD0201125190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—CSSR President Vaclav Havel today paid tribute to the victims of fascism and militarism at the Unter den Linden memorial in Berlin. He then visited the Brandenburg Gate. With other leading figures from his country, he crossed the historic edifice and visited the frontier wall.

Before the many journalists, Havel referred to the fact that many years ago US President John F. Kennedy had said "Ich bin ein Berliner" at the Berlin Wall. Havel explained that he would "very much like to repeat his sentence in a new time and in a new context." He felt himself to be a Berliner in the sense that during his time as president, he hopes, in the framework of his influence and his possibilities, to remove all barriers, walls, and barbed wire that separate and divide Europe. "All we Europeans must thank the GDR for beginning with dismantling one of the worst walls." [passage omitted]

News Conference With Gerlach

LD0201142790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1317 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"It fills me and for sure all citizens of our country with great pleasure that President Havel is undertaking his first foreign visit, following his election as president, to the GDR." This was underlined on Tuesday in Berlin by the presiding chairman of the GDR State Council, Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, at a news conference of the heads of state of the GDR and the CSSR. The talks he conducted with his guest took place in a very open, friendly, and constructive atmosphere, Gerlach said.

He had briefed President Havel on developments in the GDR, on the profound democratic changes, as well as on the ideas concerning the expansion of bilateral relations between both countries. Opinions on the situation in Europe were exchanged. The fundamental changes in the GDR and the CSSR offered favorable preconditions for the development of relations at all levels. Both should take part constructively in the construction and shaping of the all-European house. Gerlach said he stated in full responsibility to President Havel that the German Democratic Republic will remain an anti-fascist state. The democratic development in the GDR is releasing forces committed to democracy and freedom, *but is not creating* any space for neo-fascism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia.

He had emphasized to the CSSR president that the German Democratic Republic assumes that the borders existing as a result of World War II and on the basis of the treaties drawn up over the past years and decades represent an important element in the peace and stability of Europe.

Relations between the two German states will become closer, and the treaty-based community will assume concrete shape. Here the GDR takes for granted the existence of two sovereign German states that will gradually draw closer to one another. It is also possible to imagine further developments, for example confederative structures, a confederation. This is a question for the people themselves to decide, and also a decision that must be made in the European framework.

He had explained to President Havel that GDR policy will continue to be governed by the principle that war can never again be allowed to emanate from German soil, and that the GDR will be a reliable partner when it comes to securing peace and to furthering detente in Europe. It will do all in its power to make the optimum contribution to the shaping of the European home.

President Vaclav Havel began by expressing his gratitude for the invitation to the GDR. This visit was a short one, but also a very important one. He would later travel on to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The visit, originally conceived as a symbolic one, swiftly turned into a working visit. This corresponds to the accelerating tempo of history. A further reason for the visit was the fact that the CSSR shares a significant proportion of its borders with the two German states. The German people are the largest and also the most important neighbor of his country. The problems of Europe came together at the present in the two German states. The CSSR hopes, for its part, to make a significant contribution to the unification of Europe. In his words, Europe should consist of free, independent states.

Havel reported on a meeting with representatives of the GDR roundtable. This meeting, too, although it was a short one, was important. He took the opportunity of inviting the participants of the roundtable to Prague in February for a meeting with representatives of Civic Forum, Charter 77, and the Public Against Violence. Despite differences of opinion, he considered the cooperation of the different groups to be necessary.

In response to questions from journalists, Prof Gerlach stated that the treaty-based community of both German states, in prospect, extends far beyond what was agreed in the Basic Treaty. Confederative structures could develop thereby. He also thought it possible "that one could then erect a roof over both German states." He can imagine that the two German states will also unite within a Europe that is itself uniting. Gerlach said that he will never use the concept "reunification" because it immediately conjures up the memory of the borders of 1937.

Vaclav Havel noted with regard to this complex problem that the solution to the European and German problems are two sides of the [same] coin. It is difficult to imagine an elimination of the wall dividing Europe without the elimination of the Wall that divides Germany "and vice versa." He hoped that both German states will be confederated quite quickly. "Several significant conditions" still have to be fulfilled in this regard. First, the emotions arising on both sides will have to be calmed. Second, the confederation process will have to be part of the all-European process and be based on negotiations. Third, the neighbors of both German states should be relieved of possible anxiety concerning a Greater Germany.

At present, "completely new horizons" are opening up in relations between the CSSR and both German states, Havel said. He was pleased that the CSSR is also due to be incorporated into the bilateral economic cooperation between the GDR and the FRG.

Asked about the events in Romania, Havel said that he could only express his private opinion on this. In principle he opposed the death penalty, but he also realized that human life had been saved by this swift trial of the "Conducator." Havel could, however, also have imagined an orderly trial over several months, during which all facts and truths about the Ceausescu regime would have seen the light of day.

The similarity and temporal parallels between the revolutionary changes in the GDR and the CSSR are, in the words of Gerlach, of decisive importance for further cooperation between both states. That will be of great advantage for both peoples and for Europe. He announced that works by Havel will be published this year in the GDR and that several theaters are working on productions of his plays.

Delegation Holds Talks

LD0201203690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Report by Berlin correspondent Slavomir Malickay]

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of our republic, first met Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State. Following their talks, talks between the two delegations followed. Also taking part on our side were Marian Calfa and Jiri Dienstbier, and on the GDR side: Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs.

Vaclav Havel then laid a wreath at the monument to the victims of fascism, along Under der Linden Street. Our highest representative also viewed the Brandenburg Gate, the symbol of Berlin. In a short address, he recalled John Kennedy's visit almost 31 years ago, and identified with his statement of that time, namely that by visiting the city he felt himself a Berliner. Through my influence and opportunities, Vaclav Havel went on to say, I would like to contribute toward doing way with all the walls and wires leading across Europe.

The president of the republic and the members of his delegation then met with the participants in the roundtable talks, as well as with representatives of independent civic initiatives.

From the very first minute, this first foreign visit by our new president was met with great interest on the part of journalists. This assessment also was made clear by the course of the concluding news conference, which was held jointly by Vaclav Havel and Manfred Gerlach. Our president, first of all, praised the significance of Czechoslakia's relations with the two German states. This also was one of the main reasons why, 4 days after being elected, he decided to visit the GDR and the FRG. Asked how he assessed the prospects for contacts between Czechoslovakia and the two German states, Vaclav Havel said:

[Begin Havel recording] It seems that completely new horizons have opened up in Czechoslovakia's relations with the two German states, and I was overjoyed when Mr Gerlach told me that they were discussing with Mr von Weizsacker a plan for tripartite economic cooperation of the two German states with Czechoslovakia, and I promised him that I will say this tomorrow to Dr Komarek, our first deputy premier, so that the economic team, of which he is the leader, might take it into account in its plans. [end recording]

At the conclusion of today's visit by President Vaclav Havel to the GDR, a joint press release was issued. It said that the GDR and Czechoslovakia support the setting up of a common European home, where all people would live together freely and without mistrust. Security and cooperation should be based on the stability of borders in Europe as guarantee of mutual trust. Vaclav Havel and Manfred Gerlach supported the proposal to hold, as early as this year, a summit meeting of states-signatories of the Helsinki concluding document.

Further on Talks

LD0201204390 Prague CTK in English 1926 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin Jan 2 (CTK) Correspondents)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, currently on a visit to the GDR, said in a short address near the Berlin Wall that he would like to contribute to the removal of all walls and wires that crisscross Europe.

Vaclav Havel also met with representatives of the East German movement "New Forum" and other participants in roundtable talks in the GDR.

The Czechoslovak president said at a press conference here today that one of the reasons for his visit to the GDR and the FRG was the fact that the German people have been for centuries geographically surrounding a large part of Czechoslovakia and are its biggest neighbour. Moreover, the German soil is a space where all-European processes entangle or are solved, he said, adding that relations between Czechoslovakia and the two German states will be of extraordinary importance in future. He stressed that Czechoslovakia wants to contribute to a change of Europe into a continent of free and independent states.

Asked about the main result of his talks with East German representatives, Vaclav Havel said that though his visit was short, it showed a similarity of opinions on Europe's future and also made it possible to discuss several concrete issues.

Commenting on the German issue, the Czechoslovak president said the way of forming a confederation of the GDR and the FRG was a matter of the Germans themselves. According to him, the conditions for this process are "calming down of emotions on both sides". Rapproachement of Europe as a whole and the need for relieving some neighbouring states of the fear of "great Germany" by the Germans themselves.

Asked about the Berlin Wall, Vaclav Havel said he wonders that it still stands and he is satisfied that its demolition has already started. In this context he remarked that in Czechoslovakia, there exist a civic initiative (Society for Merrier Present) which offers assistance free of charge in such cases.

Vaclav Havel also expressed satisfaction that Manfred Gerlach held talks with West President Richard von Weizsaecker on a possibility of tripartite cooperation between Czechoslovakia, the GDR and the FRG.

Manfred Gerlach said at the press conference that he assured the Czechoslovak president that the GDR considers the current European frontiers as an important element of stability on the continent and that the GDR will remain an anti-fascist state in which the process of democratization will not create space for neo-Nazism. He said that relations between the GDR and the FRG will develop into a treaty-based community which is assuming concrete shape at present, and which may become a confederation later. The GDR will further recognize the existence of two sovereign German states, Manfred Gerlach added.

German-Soviet Society To Hold Congress

AU2912120189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "DSF Has Called Congress for End of January"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The extraordinary congress of the German-Soviet Friendship Society (DSF) will take place on 27 January 1990. This was decided at the sixth session of the DSF Central Executive Committee in Berlin on Thursday [21 December]. Discussed were the drafts of a new program, a new statute, and new election rules. The close links of the DSF with the Socialist Unity Party were removed from the still-valid statute.

The DSF considers itself independent from party politics and offers its cooperation to all parties, organizations, and movements that base themselves on the GDR Constitution, DSF Vice President Heinz Kuhrig stressed in his report. It will concentrate on the GDR's "vital close friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union" and will inform members in line with the interests and expectations of its members about the politics, science, economy, culture, religion, environment, country, and people of the USSR and, at the same time, it will help to spread a realistic picture of the GDR in the USSR.

Goods Exchange Signed With PRC for 1990

LD1312193189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1353 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A government protocol on the exchange of goods between the GDR and China for 1990 was signed in Berlin today. In a talk, Dr Gerhard Beil, the GDR foreign trade minister, and Li Lanqing, China's deputy foreign trade minister, agreed to deepen further economic relations between the two countries. There is to be closer cooperation, particularly in mechanical engineering.

Partnerships in the construction of refrigerated vehicles, combine harvesters and chemical plants have proved their value, and should be extended. There should also be an examination of new forms of industrial cooperation.

More than half of all GDR imports from China comprise finished textiles, underwear, children's clothes, menswear and womenswear and working clothes. Also important are corn, rice, soya beans, chemical and matallurgical basic and raw materials and semi-finished products. From the GDR China imports track vehicles, goods vehicles, machine tools, construction and road-building technology and equipment for the chemical industry. Also on the supply program are electrical engineering and electronic products, fertilizers and other supplies.

Solidarity Committee Welcomes Ceausescu Ouster

AU2912121589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Solidarity With the Romanian People"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Solidarity Committee, the "Solidarity for Romania" initiative, the participants in the vigil in front of the Romanian Embassy in Berlin, the United Left, New Forum, and the Independent Women's Association have welcomed the overthrow of the Ceausescu clique. An appeal sent to ADN on Friday [22 December] says that the clique undisguisedly showed its contempt for mankind and its brutality by suppresssing peaceful demonstrations of the rebelling people. The signatories appeal to all parties, social organizations, initiative groups, and religious communities, as well as to all GDR citizens, to make donations for a solidarity action for the Romanian people to account number 444—password "Romania." The amount of donations and their use will be controlled jointly and will be reported publicly. The GDR Government is asked to support the purchase and sending of vital material goods to the value of the donations.

UN Resolution on Romania Aid Welcomed

LD2912153889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1450 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has welcomed with satisfaction the unanimous approval of the UN General Assembly resolution on humanitarian aid to Romania, which it jointly submitted to this body. Dr Denis Ruh, acting Foreign Ministry spokesman told this to ADN today.

The GDR affirmed its full support for the democratic renewal in Romania. In accordance with its humanist policy, it will continue the aid measures already under way. It is in close contact with the National Salvation Front in order to give assistance where it can be most useful and effective. It has already sent 23 tons of medical aid goods to Romania by air, and 26 tractor-trailer trucks of the German Red Cross are on their way to Romania with aid goods and parcels from the population.

Polish Roundtable Talks Viewed

AU3012091289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Dec 89 p 2

[Wolfgang Rex editorial: "Dialogue as Required by the Emergency"]

[Text] A new round of talks has started in Poland. For the first time since the "round table" in the spring, Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity trade union, met for talks with leading members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

It was required by the emergency, one could say about this dialogue. Since April 1989, production has been going down; prices, on the other hand, are skyrocketing. As a way out of this crisis, the Mazowiecki government—also under the influence of the IMF—has developed a package of laws, the consequences of which might be mass unemployment and a further decline in the standard of living.

In the spring, all participants in the "round table" agreed that sacrifices have to be made to improve the economy. However, what the restrictions are to be like and who will accept the greatest reductions in the standard of living was not agreed at that time.

Now, however, there is the tough question of what can be done to defend the interests of the working people, in particular those of the workers class, and to keep the burdens as low as possible. The PZPR and Solidarity agree on this as they agree on their basic support for the government's economic program. If this program is to be effective and if the resulting social hardships are to be kept as small as possible, there is only one way: progress in production. In this spirit, the PZPR and Solidarity have called on the enterprise staffs to do everything for better organizational and economic conditions in their enterprises.

Of course, it could not be the goal of this meeting to overcome basic differences in opinions on many questions of the further social development. No side expects the other one to switch sides. As TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, in view of the dramatically deteriorating situation there are only two possibilities for Poland: either serious social conflicts erupt in the country, which, in the newspaper's view, also harbor the danger of a rightist dictatorship, or Poland continues on the path of peaceful social restructuring.

Since the beginning of the "round table" there has been a tested method for the latter path: tolerance toward other views and understanding about common points in the interest of Poland.

Hungary's Role in Initiating Change Praised

AU2112131889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Franz Helling commentary: "Hungary as a Catalyzer"]

[Text] Hungary was showered with praise during the weekend [16-17 December]. FRG Chancellor Kohl conveyed thanks to the people and the government in Budapest for their help "for our people, for Europe." He paid tribute to the Order of the Knights of Malta and the Red Cross for the humanitarian aid they provided, which was, first of all, a great act of humanity, and, second, enhanced freedom.

At a large event organized by the New Forum and in which representatives of civic forums from Bulgaria, the CSSR, and the GDR participated, Michael Goebel from the New Forum presented a tiny piece of the Wall, stating that it would not be open today if Hungary had not opened its borders with Austria in the summer.

Those who, like me, saw what difficulties the GDR citizens were faced with at the camps in Budapest have realized that it was not easy for many to take this step, and that they must have had very serious reasons. The number of those who saw this as the only way out increased every month. The Hungarians really deserve thanks because, with their decision to suspend bilateral treaties, they practically eased the situation overnight and forced the GDR Government to act.

Thus, it cannot be ignored that Hungary's attitude had an impact on the processes in the GDR, that it acted as a catalyst as it were, accelerating these processes. However, Budapest also admits that "Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroyka paved the way" for the things that have been happening in Eastern Europe during the past few months, as a colleague put it.

A variety of internal and external factors have made it possible for the people's sovereignty to achieve a breakthrough. However, we all know that, despite uncontested progress, a great number of problems that have built up over the all the years have not been settled yet. Michael Goebel also reported that a large number of people are still leaving the GDR every day for the FRG. He drew the following conclusion: We must achieve a new identification of the GDR citizens with their state. New possibilities have been created for this since summer.

Kohl Discusses Future Relations With GDR

LD0201212790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1913 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—In the view of Christian Democratic Union Chairman Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the future development of relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic affects "everything in Europe, in East and West." In an interview for the radio agency RUFA [as received; expansion unknown] that was made available to ADN's Bonn office today, the chancellor said that Europe and the two German states face an extremely difficult, but important historical phase. The "justified security questions" confronting the two great pact systems, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and the important disarament steps to be expected in 1990 in the sphere of chemical weapons, intercontinental missiles and the reduction of conventional troop forces, must "not now be endangered by other developments in case they get out of control." "In the development of Europe we need to act together if we want to jointly build a truly free and open European home." People must talk with each other.

Kohl said he hopes that in matters of the treaty-based community an agreement will be reached before the elections in the GDR. "I would like us to negotiate intensively, the GDR Government and the federal government, so that we have the treaty-based community ready in April if possible." Not without reason, he spoke of "moderation and patience" because the processes of self-determination "are not achieved overnight."

The process of balancing the economic and social relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic alone requires time and much understanding in acting together. For all these reasons, he is against any deadlines, "whoever generates them," he added. Since it has been demonstrated that political visions can become reality, it is "now very important to keep both feet on the ground and react very calmly and very convincingly." That is "the dictate of the hour for the Germans and what our neighbors in East and West can expect of us." It is important for economic conditions in particular to change quickly and visibly in the GDR since people must find their future in their own homeland and have a sense of well-being. The future freely elected GDR parliament will give rise to many issues to be thought through, for example joint government committees in all manner of spheres.

Kohl said with regard to the Salzgitter registration office that if the reasons for the office's existence disappear, it will have to be dissolved. "If the preconditions that made the creation of this establishment necessary disappear, if the political criminal code of the GDR is altered accordingly, if there are no longer any political prisoners in the GDR, then there is no need for this registration office." The question of which path the Germans want to take in the future will undoubtedly gain great significance in the upcoming election campaign in the Federal Republic. Neighbors, friends and partners in the FRG are asking this question. The federal chancellor said that they should receive precise answers so that they "know where they are with the individual political groupings."

More Joint Ventures With FRG Announced

AU2912204389 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 23-24 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "New DEUTRANS Joint Ventures"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Berlin (GDR) DEUTRANS Combine State Enterprise and the Herzberg/Harz PEMA Vehicle Trading Company have agreed to establish a vehicle leasing and trading company in the GDR as soon as possible. This joint venture is to deal especially with the leasing of utility vehicles (transporters, semi-trailers, heavy trucks, and trailers) and construction machinery. [passage omitted]

With the Duesseldorf Bartsch and Weickert International Forwarding Company, the establishment of a joint transportation enterprise and the construction of office and storage facilities in Dresden were approved. [passage omitted]

Talks Between NVA, Bundeswehr Representatives

AU2912121789 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 22 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN/DM report: "Information From the NVA"]

[Text] East Berlin—A first talk between representatives of the Ministry of National Defense and the FRG German Bundeswehr Association took place in Berlin. According to a release by the Defense Ministry, Lieutenant General Harald Ludwig from the National People's Army [NVA] reported on the goals of the military reform in the GDR and on the forthcoming founding of an association of professional soldiers.

Cooperation Between GDR TV, ZDF Discussed

AU3012084989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Dec 89 p 4

[ADN report: "Cooperation Between ZDF and GDR Television"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—During talks in Berlin, Hans Bentzien, director general of GDR Television, and Dieter Stolte, director of ZDF [second FRG television station], advocated the exchange of topical information. [passage omitted]

More intensive cooperation would include the broadcasting of joint productions. The interlocutors agreed to hold further consultations.

Joint Venture Agreement With Volkswagen

AU0101112690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Dec 89 p 2

[ADN report: "IFA and VW Founded Joint Venture"]

[Excerpt] Wolfsburg (ADN)—On Friday [22 December] in Wolfsburg the Industrial Association for Motor Vehicle Construction (IFA) and the FRG Volkswagen corporation agreed on the founding of a joint company to prepare the development, production, and sale of passenger cars and pickup trucks. The joint-venture contract was signed by Dieter Voigt, director general of the Karl- Marx-Stadt Passenger Car IFA Combine, and by Carl H. Hahn, chairman of the Volkswagen corporation.

The "Volkswagen IFA Passenger Car Ltd," which will at first have 80 employees and in which both partners hold 50 percent each, intends to start work immediately. [passage omitted]

West Berlin Citizen Killed in Celebrations

LD0101102890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0942 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A 24-year-old West Berlin resident met with a fatal accident during the New Year celebrations outside the Brandenburg Gate attended by hundreds of thousands. The Berlin People's Police said that he was found after 0100 on the central reservation of the Unter den Linden Street.

Investigations are under way to see whether his death is connected with the collapse of a GDR television video screen in the square outside the Brandenburg Gate; 135 people were injured in the accident, 22 of whom are still being treated in hospitals of the GDR capital. West Berlin police said that 55 GDR citizens were taken to West Berlin hospitals. None of the injured is on the critical list.

Pik Botha Expected in Budapest 3 Jan

LD0301114490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] First of all, Istvan Kulcsar reports from the Foreign Ministry news conference which has just ended and at which interesting and sensational announcements were made:

[Kulcsar] Two sensational announcements were made at lunchtime today at the Foreign Ministry's news conference, which is still in progress. According to the first of these announcements, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha will arrive in Budapest today. This will be the first visit to a Warsaw Pact country by a South African foreign minister.

While in Budapest, Pik Botha will meet with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and probably with the leaders of several political parties as well.

The purpose of his official talks is to brief Hungary on the processes taking place in the southern part of Africa, and the Hungarian side will give a briefing on the processes under way in Eastern Europe and the central East European region, as has been requested by the South African side. Apart from this, there may also be discussion of other international issues.

It was said at the Foreign Ministry briefing that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries can by no means be a direct objective of the discussions. However, with the gradual improvement of relations, this, too, may happen in the future. Today the Hungarian Republic continues to condemn apartheid, it was stressed.

The other sensational announcement was as follows: Tomorrow [4 January], a Canadian Air Force C130 Hercules military plane will land at Ferihegy Airport. It will carry out test flights 4-7 January in Hungary's airspace, in the framework of the so-called Open Sky confidence-building measures, or rather for the preparation of this exercise.

Minority College Adopts Stance on Romania

LD2912200189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The Nationality and Ethnic Minority College of the Council of Ministers held an extraordinary session in Budapest today. It approved a greetings message to the people of Romania who are fighting for freedom and democracy. Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi later spoke to Zoltan Sipos:

[Begin recording] [Sipos] What was the subject of today's session?

[Tabajdi] The Nationality and Ethnic Minority College of the Council of Ministers discussed two questions today. First, it took a stance in connection with the events in Romania. With the title We Greet the People of Romania, Fighting for their Freedom, and Democracy, it conveyed an objective, sober stance, which comprehensively deals with Hungarian-Romanian relations; it places the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania within this stance.

The other point on the agenda was that the college supports the government's intention that the National Assembly, at its next session in January, to place the issue of the National Assembly representation of national and ethnic minorities in Hungary on the agenda, to propose the amendment of the Constitution, and to ensure 13 deputies' places in the future Hungarian National Assembly for the minorities in Hungary [words indistinct].

[Sipos] What was the Nationality and Ethnic Minority College's stand on the events in Romania?

[Tabajdi] The college greeted the Romanian people's victory; it greeted the National Front for Salvation and assured the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania—the legal interest representation organ of the 2.5 million Hungarian minority—of its support. Apart from this it dealt with important principles of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation. One of the fundamental elements of this appeal is that both sides here have to face the spiritual baggage not just of a number of decades, but of centuries. Self-examination is needed on both sides. There is an important element to this appeal: That self-examination should not be restricted to the forces of Hungarian and Romanian society; everybody should examine themselves, in East and West alike, who, either directly or indirectly, supported and helped the dictatorship—Ceausescu's dictatorship.

The standpoint states that it is very important that Hungarian-Romanian negotiations—which have just begun at the level of foreign ministers, the government level—continue. Very many problems and tensions have accumulated, particularly in the cultural sphere, and in intellectual contacts. In the interest of this, the college proposed that the two sides agree on a bilateral cultural working plan as soon as possible.

This college standpoint has very many concrete proposals. I would highlight something we rarely think of—that the college has asked the government, enterprises, entrepreneurs, and banks to do everything in the interests of developing direct economic cooperation, creating Hungarian-Romanian joint enterprises, joint interest associations, and banks. For us to be able to put Hungarian-Romanian cooperation onto new bases, with long, patient work, there is also an indispensible need to develop economic contacts. [end recording]

Officials Discuss Policy Toward Romania

LD2912075189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1940 GMT 28 Dec 89

["News Background" program with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, Democratic Forum President Jozsef Antall, and Ferenc Koszeg, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats, presented by Akos Mester]

[Excerpts] [Mester] [Passage omitted] You were able to read this morning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement—which is, at the same time, a government statement, too—according to which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the government of the Hungarian Republic, greets the formation of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians living in Romania, supports the basic principles and aims of the federation, and is ready to cooperate for this purpose with the Romanian leadership and with all democratic Romanian elements. This is what we discussed in tonight's program with Foreign Affairs Minister Gyula Horn; Jozsef Antail, chairman of MDF [Democratic forum]; and Ferenc Koszeg, spokesman of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats].

MAGYAR HIRLAP said this about the statement: The development of our relations is inseparable from the prevailing issue of national minority rights. A very important sentence, because it has facts behind it and expectations, too, perhaps. I think that what we are taking about is that the facts are promising, but are really insufficient. Of course, I am referring to what has happened in Romania so far.

[Horn] Of course, there is a new situation there. This new situation has only a few days history behind it, so I do not think a solution can be found, within a very short time, to the problems that have accumulated over decades. However, I consider very important that what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has formulated as a standpoint is not brand new. We have already stressed this, particularly in the past 2 years, even in the course of contacts with the previous Romanian leadership.

In my judgment, the turning point, in the wake of which the Democratic Federation of Hungarians living in Romania was formed, provides the means for our solving, together with the Romanian leadership, this very weighty, very painful problem regarding the situation, the insurance of the rights of Magyardom in Romania.

[Mester] Was this the question on which the views of Hungarian foreign policy and the parties were not entirely the same? Or were the views regarding this the same?

[Antall] I think that there was no difference regarding the fact that from the outset we were and are aware of the military and political situation that had developed. Obviously, it is necessary to draw a distinction between emotions and rational possibilities. Emotionally, very many people were of the view—indeed, I am convinced that a large majority of the country were so—that they would have most willingly gone there to help with all means available.

If we look at the matter from the viewpoint of whether we could propose that the Warsaw Pact member countries provide direct assistance in such a situation, obviously this did not occur to anyone. We were already well enough acquainted with the precedents, so that there was no one from the opposition who might have wished for the Warsaw Pact member countries to intervene. I am speaking on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum: Our conception from the outset was that we should urge the Security Council to deal with this matter. I believe that in the final analysis, agreement took shape in this regard. We urged this from the outset, and we also were convinced that China would veto it. It was obvious that China welcomed the new leadership only when it was firmly established.

However, the idea naturally arose—and seeing it in terms of the situation which had developed it does not appear unrealistic to me—that if certain groups of the Securitate had not been successfully isolated, and if the bloodshed had continued, we would have considered the deployment of the special antiterrorist formations at the disposal of certain countries as being useful—if the new Romanian leadership had accepted this. This could have been a precedent between NATO and the Warsaw Pact if a situation arose in which terrorism was rampant; news came in that Libyan and other terrorist groups and mercenaries were involved—irrespective of the fact that this has never happened in world history, or it has not been useful. We thought that terrorism was a world problem in which a good and useful precedent could be established with the effect that when terrorist actions take place, irrespective of the other large tensions concerning world powers, joint action could be taken.

[Mester] I just wanted to say, Mr President, that unfortunately we are beyond making such dramatic speculations. Slowly, a more peaceful situation is developing in Romania. This is demonstrated no better than by the fact that while Hungarian TV viewers here are watching "News Background," Bucharest Television, according to reports from my colleagues, is showing Chaplin movies. Moreover, what could it be other than the famous Chaplin movie about the dictator? [passage omitted]

The world did not react uniformly to the fact that judgment was passed so quickly on the Ceausescu couple, and that the sentence was carried out so quickly. The world has not reacted uniformly. Here in Hungary, too, there have been varying opinions on this. Some have said it means nothing but the beginning of settling scores. Others have said that it was impossible to act according to the rules of a democratic, civilized society under the conditions at the time. Has any kind of party stance formed in this regard? Is there any official Hungarian stance?

[Horn] In connection with what was said earlier, what Jozsef Antall said, my judgment is that even if there were small differences in emphasis and style, overall I would say that there was national unity in this matter.

It was important that I consulted with you. It is natural that one person had one view while the other person had another. For example, we were in full agreement regarding the convening of the Security Council, but, at the same time, being acquainted with practice, experiences there, we endeavored to win over as many countries as possible to be allies; who would make a submission together with us? In that case, there would have been a greater chance of developing a stance. This is how direct talks came to be held with the FRG, Austria, Canada, and Italy, and then it reached the Security Council. Unfortunately, in the end, several—primarily China—vetoed it. That is one thing.

I should like to stress something else concerning the terrorists, the foreign squads. I believe that the Hungarian mass media conveyed the reports from Romania in the most thorough and detailed way possible. I believe that the greatest praise is due to the Hungarian mass media for this work. I consider this important to emphasize, because certain Arab countries, certain Arab political organizations are accusing Hungary, or Hungarian mass media, of having aroused hysteria regarding the Arabs. That is not true. These reports to the effect that various mercenaries, terrorists, were involved, were reports stemming from Romania, and these reports were not even commented on here. That is one thing.

The other thing: No one here identified these squads or groups with the stance or actions, steps of the government of any Arab country. I should like to emphasize this because we strive for a good relationship with every Arab country with similar intentions. It would be very bad if as a result of this any kind of anti-Arab atmosphere, or an anti-Hungarian atmosphere among the Arabs, were to develop in this connection.

Finally, a few words: I believe that it is impossible to pass judgment from abroad, either from Budapest or from any West European capital, detached from the circumstances and not living in them, on the type of court verdict that was passed. It is possible to judge each individual thing only by living in the situation there.

The revolution has experienced very grave crises in the past days, indeed, ones that lasted for hours. I can imagine the manner in which judgment was passed on the Ceausescu couple, and I consider it logical. This was a very important moral factor from the viewpoint of saving the revolution and eliminating the various Securitate groups.

[Korszeg] I would like to reaffirm what has been said concerning the parties' agreement. Properly speaking, prior to the events, yet after the Timisoara events, a six-party statement was drafted in which we asked the government to bring about the introduction of sanctions by other governments against the Ceausescu regime, and we also asked that the Security Council be convened. This was drafted jointly by the Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and other parties joined this request.

Perhaps I might add—this concerns more or less the sphere of people's diplomacy [nepi diplomacia]—that I was in Czechoslovakia on the 21st-22d, and I had the opportunity to meet with Foreign Minister Dienstbier and Vaclav Havel, too. I met with them, properly speaking, not as political figures, but as longstanding opposition acquaintances. However, the matter of convening the Security Council and the Romanian issue were discussed. Both of them approved of it. Czechoslovakia joined the request. Of course, we, too, were aware that there was a possibility of a veto, and that this would not really be an effective measure.

[Antall] I do not really have anything to add. It is a matter of detail whether or not we call that people's diplomacy. I think the essence is that regarding assistance, carrying out collections, the people simply wanted to express their desire to do something. This was apparent in organizing direct aid actions, just like in foreign political endeavors and in such diplomatic actions.

Obviously, the Ceausescu couple's execution does not belong among the most elegant trials in the history of law, and it is clear that court trials have different traditions in Hungary in a certain sense. Those who have such experience have told me that court trials in Romania are more passionate, and that feelings are most dynamically asserted at court trials. Therefore, I believe it is possible that this extreme passion was somewhat unusual for other European countries, for more northern countries or for ourselves. So a normal court trial would not necessarily be the same. However, concerning the sense about which Foreign Minister Horn spoke, it was not simply a legal matter. The issue was that it was possible to save tens of thousands by demoralizing the Securitate, which was tied to a person, to a clan. Therefore, they had to be executed for this link to be broken.

That is one reason why this had to be done. The other thing is that every people needs a sense of justice. It simply had to be sensed that the only thing to be done was to get rid of the spellbinding, diabolical couple, which the Ceausescus had become in the past years.

[Koszeg] I understand the political need for this event occurring. At the same time I think that it is very dangerous if law and freedom come into conflict. As far as I am concerned, I would have liked it much better if the Ceausescu couple had accounted for their actions at a regular, real court trial. [passage omitted]

Within a short time, the enormous amount of national, ethnic conflict about whose existence in Romania we have known and which, regretfully, was not only propaganda, has disappeared, as if blown away. It is for this reason that I see this event as extraordinarily significant: It is perhaps the first rebirth or birth of Romania which is not burdened by weighty tension in the Magyar-Romanian relationship.

[Mester] [Passage omitted] People do not forget. People know very well that not long ago Ceausescu received the

Order of Lenin in Moscow. Possibly people connected with this think that Moscow delays, that Moscow reacts belatedly. Others say that Moscow reacts after having consideration and not belatedly. Have there been debates regarding this?

[Horn] We have not discussed this especially or consulted the different parties. The fact of the matter is that the Soviets did not really possess any more information than we did—in fact we Hungarians had the most information.

When we established contact on Saturday with the Soviet leadership we naturally gave an assessment of the situation and we also held negotiations, and discussed how the revolutionary forces could be helped. It was not even raised—and I emphasize—what is much more important, really much more important now than whether Ceausescu had been or had not been awarded the Order of Lenin is that the Soviet leadership today does not even consider, it doesn't occur to them to intervene with military or other tough means in the affairs of other (?Warsaw Pact) countries. I consider this very important considering the processes taking place in Hungary and in the other countries.

At the same time, enormous destruction had come about in Romania as a result of the turning point, the revolution in Romania. Obviously, the economic problems are big, huge everywhere. There is a need to organize some kind of support for them. The Warsaw Pact isn't necessarily the framework for this, rather, I think that this would take place within a national framework.

Well, what I consider important for Hungary, in addition to what has been said thus far, is that the Hungarian people, Hungarian public opinion, immediately rushed to help the Romanians, the Romanian people. In my opinion we now have an historic opportunity, the historic possibility of rearranging Hungarian-Romanian relations, of clearing away all the obstacles accumulated over the past decades.

It is not conditions or demands which I would formulate right now, because I take as a point of departure that in creating a democracy, a multiparty system, pluralism—if it is really taken seriously in Romania, and every sign indicates to me that they do—respect for human rights, including minority rights, is unavoidable, as is the creation of institutions related to such rights and the establishment of institutionalized guarantees.

This is the natural result of the process which, in my view, can be and should be influenced at the same time. It is for this reason that we formulated the stand quoted above and I must say that should we negotiate—and we intend to—with the Romanian leadership we shall not confine our discussion only to the way in which we can promote change, progress there with our means and experience—with our modest mans. We will also want to formulate the possibilities as to how and what may be urgently done for the very rapid improvement of Magyardom in Romania.

[Mester] Could you say anything specific?

[Horn] As you know, steps have already been taken. The village destruction plan has been rejected. They also anulled the Residency Act [szalas torveny]; they permitted the establishment of the Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania. What I consider very important for the immediate future is securing autonomy and self determination for Magyardom as soon as possible.

What do I understand by this? First of all, the participation by the Magyars in public administration; the creation of organized political representation; the securing of the freedom of religious practice, fully and completely; the securing of the rights of Magyardom in every possible sphere, education, culture, and every other possible area; the securing of the representation of rights; and the complete autonomy, self-determination of the Hungarians there.

[Koszeg] I think that a new situation has come about not only in Romania but throughout Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia. In a certain sense this means the end of the Trianon system. I add quickly, to avoid any misunderstanding, that this does not mean to call into question the borders which evolved at Trianon. In this respect I very much agree with the official statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with what the minister has just now said.

To be able to create for Hungarians living in Romania and other neighboring countries the conditions for practicing human rights and the minority rights it is very important that we make it clear that we do not intend to change the borders, that we accept the existing borders. I think that it is important that the political parties declare that should they gain office they will continue this policy, that they do not want to follow a new policy in this respect. Under these premises, I mean the end of the Trianon system in the sense that the Trianon system's component was not only the taking away of Hungarian territory, territory of a historic Hungary, but also that Hungary came to be surrounded by hostile states—the Little Entente. Now I think we are living in a historic phase in which Hungary is surrounded by friendly countries—and we have to try and keep these countries as such.

[Mester] It is a very complex thing because—let us speak frankly—people harbor false illusions. Yes, there are people who say that it is high time that we should ask whether Transylvania can be given autonomy. Yes, there are people in whom a very strange impatience and expectation bubbles. I even heard on Radio Free Europe recently the argument that references to the geopolitical situation in which we live have ended because such references were made with a raised eyebrow and a raised finger whenever a nation had some degree of independence—it was immediately cautioned and told: Hold on, take care, geopolitical realities dictate something different, reality orders us to do something different.

Well, I think that we cannot lose our sense of reality in the new situation, under any circumstances, either. The question is what does reality tell us to do just now.

[Horn] I should like to add something to what Ferenc Koszeg has said. One concerns Trianon: We must recognize that after the Trianon or Paris peace treaty was signed, neither the great majority of successor states nor the large powers which vouched for the treaty, moreover nor the previous Hungarian leadership, took a stand advocating the protection, the defense of the rights of the Magyars. This is historical fact. Now there is an opportunity for the new Czechoslovak leadership, for the new Romanian leadership, who are concerned about this, to pursue a different nationality policy and to realize all (?which failed to come about). Not to mention current Hungarian policy, which naturally regards the protection of the rights of the Magyars living beyond the borders to be an issue to which all other political issues are subordinated. By this I mean, in concrete terms, that for example the matter of a relationship, cooperation within an agreement cannot be higher-ranking than protecting and advocating the interests of the Magyars in Romania. This is why we, for our part, drew up this stand in this manner. As for the borders: It is not only between Hungary and Romania that I conceive an alteration of the borders to be inconceivable; I would consider any kind of demand of this type to be extremely grave and dangerous. In my conviction, no European state would support us if we were to come forward with such demands. This basically would undermine the favorable process which has begun in Romania, as well as undermining the creation of a Hungarian-Romanian relationship in connection with the process which has begun in Romania.

[Antall] I think that our task now is primarily to formulate in this situation the issues concerning human rights, minority rights, in which we naturally must take a stand for the Magyar minority. This is simply a part of the entire policy, and it can never be a subordinated issue; we are in full agreement regarding this. There might be situations of constraint in the fate of any country, but situations of constraint cannot be turned into matters of principle. I think that our task at any event is to examine this issue from the viewpoint of the right of self-determination, as it is usually said concerning the German question; it is necessary to lay down the right of self-determination in the case of every people, and this obviously pertains to this region, too.

Alongside this, I would like to emphasize the matter of European unity. The frameworks in this direction could be the efforts for European integration and European unity, where, properly speaking we can hope that, after the current emotional, just-developed state of real solidarity, these peoples might in reality come closer. In this, we attribute very great importance to European integration and to the organizations which Hungary hopefully will join as soon as possible. In this new Europe, hopefully we shall find the practical forms and the practical solutions.

[Koszeg] In the eastern half of Europe, it is also necessary for the processes of integration to take place; thus, Europe's eastern half gradually has to be integrated into the western half, and we can hope that just like the borders have slowly lost their significance in Western Europe in the countries of the EEC, they will also lose their significance in this region, in this area. A condition for this naturally is that the rights of every person should be guaranteed and so should the rights of every national community.

[Antall] Yes, yes. Only, if we look too far ahead, we could easily trip up. I, on my part, am at the point of asking whether we at the moment have enough self-restraint, enough intelligence, enough circumspection. Are we considering, for example, that here, next door to us, a society undergoing democratization is taking shape, in the place of a dictatorship? It is a country which is not indebted, where wages are very cheap, which from this viewpoint will be our rival. Will we be able to shape with it a situation of new cooperation, or will these factors disturb this cooperation? There are numerous issues which pertain to the present, even if I accept what you say, that this will be the main issue the day after tomorrow—I am speaking in the long term.

[Horn] Excuse me. I consider this to be the issue not of the day after tomorrow, but one of today and tomorrow. We first and foremost should restore the institutions, we should guarantee the rights which are laid down in various agreements, treaties, and which existed once, even if for a very short time. What am I thinking of, in concrete terms?

I am thinking that as I have mentioned, we must sort out the issues, problems related to our perceptions concerning the rights of the nationalities, the rights of the Magyars in Romania. This also means that we must fully liberalize the border. This means not only opening the border, but also all the conditions necessary for normal travel. This affects millions of people.

It is necessary to restore the Hungarian consulate-general in Cluj and the Romanian consulate-general in Debrecan. Cultural institutes ought to be opened in the two capitals. We have to conclude a set of agreements, including the fact that our not having been able to cooperate in the matter of rivers along the borders has resulted in much damage. This was hampered by the previous Romanian leadership.

[Mester] What will happen with the refugees? What will happen with those who want to go back, and what will happen with those who want to remain here?

[Horn] It is a very serious problem, and we by all means wish to discuss this in the coming days and weeks. In connection with the refugees, two things must be sorted out, primarily. One is that if they return to Romania, their innocence must be guaranteed; therefore they should be rehabilitated. The other thing is that rehabilitation is also necessary from an existential viewpoint; there ought to be either compensation for the confiscated property, possessions, and assets or these ought to be given back. So very many concrete, daily, living tasks must be accomplished, in the Hungarian-Romanian relationship.

[Antall] I also think that what we have discussed are not long-term issues. From the outset, we Hungarians must express very clearly what we want to do for the Magyars in Romania, in a correct, European manner, on the basis of international law, in the spirit of the international agreements which are currently valid in the world. If this does not happen, and if the situation of the Magyars on Romanian territory is not as we worded it, all that we talk about in theory and all we wish for regarding coexistence and mutual sympathy will evaporate. We can talk about how to approach one another only if we experience in the future, from the Romanian side, that it is pursuing such a policy vis-a-vis the Magyars of Transylvania—and this could pertain to the Germans or any other minority.

I think that we can remark here that on behalf of the MDF and other opposition organizations that we have formulated and followed this same policy even after the rather regretful Arad negotiations in September 1988 when we had the opportunity to hold negotiations with the representatives of the government. For this reason we formulated in a memorandum in April of this year that Ceausescu's overthrow could be expected within a year and we should prepare for this.

In preparing for this we formulated the demands for human rights, for education, for national minority rights and everything which so naturally fit in and which had been living within our soul. [passage omitted]

[Horn] Let me refer to three elements which Jozef Antill said. One of these is what he described as European culture, international law. I not only agree with this but I would emphasize that we must not under any circumstances allow for ultimatum-like demands in our tone, approach, or style because that will not lead anywhere. Culture, European reality, and international law belong in this sphere...

[Antall, interrupting] But it must be made very clear...

[Horn, interrupting] But not in an ultimatum-like fashion.

[Antall] The political behavior of the past decades, this is not particularly likeable behavior...

[Horn, interrupting] (?We told Ceausescu in July), but even before that we told him that until we sit down and negotiate these sensitive problems and find some kind of solution, we are not willing to deal with the other questions in the relationship. This was a completely new situation [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Horn] I would like to say two more things. One, as we said earlier, Ceausescu has brought about terrible destruction (?from a political point of view) precisely in the minority, in the spiritual, and in all other spheres. We consider it a very important task to right these damages. And this requires concrete support and wide-ranging cooperation with the new Romanian leadership.

And the formulation of a joint historical assessment will not be an easy matter—a joint Hungarian-Romanian assessment, that is. [passage omitted]

Nemeth Receives Australian Foreign Minister

LD1512113889 Budapest MTI in English 0907 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 15 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Gareth Evans on Friday in parliament. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Commonwealth of Australia arrived in Budapest on Thursday evening, meeting an invitation from Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. The two foreign ministers opened talks in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on Friday morning.

During the day, Mr Evans is to hold talks with Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, and is scheduled to meet with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

Szuros New Year's Message Reported

LD3112171189 Budapest MTI in English 1543 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 31 (MTI)—[MTI take 1 not received] "I am requesting your patience and understanding. I declare and profess that the country is in possession of the physical and moral strength for determination and struggle and for reasonable sacrifices" Mr Szuros continued.

"In this country, no politics—founding on sham rationality and clarity—can hope to achieve success, which tries to save the country from bankruptcy and budget deficit, but at a price that impoverishes its citizens, or by lossing their belief."

"Our aim is to create a mixed ownership, social market economy, the achievement of a high level of culture accessible to all. Furthermore we intend to boost the spirit of enterprising in a way which will enable us to combat the threatening impoverishment, besides the natural differentiation of incomes. As for the future, we intend to avoid anyone finding himself in an unjust situation both financially or socially."

"We wish to be present on international scene as part of the world's democratic forces, continuing the foreign policy of opening up. We are ready to develop our ties and cooperate with the countries of the world, on the basis of equality and the principle of mutual advantages. We intend to do away with the earlier unilateral orientation in our foreign relations. We advocate the cause of disarmament, the dissolving of the military blocks, the withdrawal of troops stationed abroad, including the early withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary. It is our essential endeavour—in the interest of our development and security—to strenghthen good-neighbourly relations, friendship and cooperation with national [as received] around us."

"In safeguarding the existence and upswing of ethnic Hungarians, we are consistently asserting the principle of double linking. The state of being left to their own had caused far too much ordeal for them over a long period of time."

"The new republic is responsible for the fate of 15-16 million Hungarians, no matter what parties of coalition it is to be governed by. Examples of recent months show that changes bringing a new era in central and Eastern Europe, are the only possible way to settle national and ethnic matters as well....It is of great international significance that Hungary was the first to embark on the road to reforms in central-Eastern Europe, and it is still ahead in the building of democracy.

"I am deeply grieved and indignant when recalling the suffering and tragedies of Romania—especially in Transylvanian towns and in Bucharest—caused by the single-minded, brutal dictatorship, the death-struggle of a family rule of terror, that occured in the Christmas season, the festivity of peace. At the same time we welcome with the true feeling of solidarity that the peoples of Romania succeeded in attaining their freedom. Together they created the possibility for achieving democratic conditions that also enable ethnic Hungarians of Transylvania to assume their national past, present and future.

"I wish that 1990 should be the year of starting a new page in Hungarian-Romanian relations, and the reincarnation [of] Transylvanian Hungarians," Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic said in his new year address.

Ministerial Changes Effective 15 Dec Noted

LD1412220689 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (MTI)—With the agreement of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the interim president of the Republic of Hungary relieved State Secretary Miklos Raft of his post at his own request and with recognition of merits, because of retirement, with effect from December 15.

With the agreement of the minister of justice and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the interim president relieved State Secretary of Justice Gyula Borics of his post at his own request and with recognition of merits, with effect from December 15, and appointed Jeno Laszlo state secretary of justice with effect from December 16.

Bartha on IMF Negotiations

AU1212170889 Budapest MTI in English 1256 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)—The first round of talks between Hungary and the IMF have ended in Budapest with a consensus on next year's economic plan and budget, Mr Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary [NBH] has said in a press statement.

Sources say that the IMF does not want to see a repeat of 1989's dramatic rise in Hungary's gross convertible debt, which now stands at 20 billion dollars, and both sides agree on the need for a drastic cut in the country's convertible current account deficit, which will probably reach 1.5 billion dollars this year. The IMF is believed to be thinking in terms of getting it down to 600 million dollars.

Another critical issue is the size of next year's budget deficit which this year will probably reach 49 billion forints as against the planned 20 billion. The IMF would apparently like it slashed to 15 billion forints next year.

One way of doing this may be a sharp drop in interest subsidies on preferential housing loans. This year's budget allocation was 70 billion forints, a figure which without appropriate measures is in danger of rising to 90 billion next year. The government is therefore planning for interest on preferential loans to be taxed.

The IMF wants the Hungarian Government to adopt a financial adjustment policy that will help keep its burgeoning foreign debts under control.

The devaluation of the forint and a greater effort to phase out loss-making businesses are seen as an essential part of this policy.

Earlier this week the National Bank of Hungary devalued the forint by 10 per cent while on Thursday the government announced measures to speed up the liquidation of loss-making firms.

There are some 50 'lame ducks' clogging up the Hungarian financial system by their failure to pay bills, and thus preventing profitable companies from also meeting their payment obligations. Overdue company bills add up to over a 100 billion forints.

The government has therefore made it easier for commercial banks to initiate bankruptcy proceedings against notorious non-payers by allowing the banks to buy state bonds for 50 per cent of the losses on bankrupt ventures, which previously they had had to meet from their risk fund.

Another principal IMF requirement is that next year's inflation rate does not exceed this year's figure of between 15 and 17 per cent. Although only 15 per cent has been planned for next year, any substantial devaluation of the forint is likely to jeopardise the target. The IMF sees the answer in strict budgetary and credit control and proposes that the Hungarian Government introduce more incentives to increase savings.

The Hungarian Government is expected to reach agreement with the IMF on details of its monetary and credit policy, including a one-year stand-by loan agreement, in January, provided the December session of parliament approves the 1990 state budget and economic plan.

NBH President Ferenc Bartha says that the one-year loan agreement may be extended to three years in the middle of next year, provided the government's three-year economic is seen to be working well.

Experts To Examine Gabchikovo Dam

AU1412140689 Budapest MTI in English 2001 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, 12 Dec (MTI)—Hungarian experts will join their Czechoslovak colleagues in an on-site survey at Gabcikovo on Wednesday, Laszlo Udvari, Hungarian government commissioner, told MTI. Over a week ago, a large amount of water and sediment burst into the lock chamber from the tailrace of the Gabcikovo water barrage, and carried along structural elements.

In keeping with an agreement between the commissioner and the environmentalist parties and organizations, the Hungarian team is to include an independent expert of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, the environmentalist group of the Democratic Trade Union of Research Workers and the Green Party of Hungary.

The conclusions of the survey will be evaluated at a coordinating meeting in Bratislava on December 21. On the request of the government commissioner, an independent expert of the Budapest Technical University will also take part in the consultation.

Government Protests New Travel Rules to Austria

LD2912213589 Warsaw PAP in English
2011 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—Polish citizens entering Austria will have to meet certain new requirements starting Jan 1, 1990. In this connection the Polish Foreign Ministry handed a protest to Austrian charge d'affaires in Warsaw yesterday.

The new regulations require that Poles traveling to Austria produce documents stating their destination, duration of stay, means of transport, etc, as well as prove they have enough money to finance their visit.

Another new demand is that Poles coming to Austria pledge in writing not to take up employment or engage in trade while there.

The Polish protest points out that the regulations discriminate against Poles, defy the spirit and letter of the CSCE Final Act and the Vienna meeting of 1986. The steps taken by the Austrian side are in glaring contrast with the Polish practice of liberalising the movement of people between states. can hinder tourism, trade, cultural cooperation and youth exchange. [sentence as received]

The Polish side demanded that the restrictions be revoked.

Walesa, Rakowski Meet; Comment on Talks

LD3012121489 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1051 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] In one of the rooms on the first floor of the Sejm, a meeting took place today between Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central committee, and Lech Walesa, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity. The meeting ended a few minutes ago. During the meeting, views were exchanged on the process of democratization in Poland and the conditions accompanying economic reform. They informed each other about preparations for the 11th party congress and the foundation congress of new left-wing Polish Party, as well as preparations for the NSZZ Solidarity Congress. Our reporter, Jan Gozel, was in the room where the talks were held at their conclusion, and this is what he noted:

[Begin recording] [Gozel] Excuse me, you have met after many years; did you have a lot to say to each other.

[Walesa] Quite a lot, because, after all, as I recall, in 1980 we were quite good friends.

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Walesa] Later our paths parted slightly, but now we are returning to old (?friends) and good habits.

[Gozel] Is that only a friendship as politicians or also as people?

[Walesa] Probably people. Politics will become a part of that friendship later, [words indistinct].

[Gozel] Did something come out of the meeting?

[Walesa] Something I have tried to do many times is to tell Polish society that Poland needs two political tendencies: centrist—that is, centered a little on the left and centered a little on the right. We must build that, regardless of which side; if we go too far to the left, that will be no good, just the same as it would not be good if we go too far to the right. (?A balanced) equilibrium is needed in every society, and we should start building that now.

[Gozel] Can I ask what you discussed?

[Rakowski] Yes, we discussed all subjects of interest to us and some which depress both of us, but the main topic of discussion was what the chairman Walesa said, which is that Poland needs both a leftist force, a center-left, as we have decided, and a center-right force, with the reservation expressed here that center-right does not mean a conservative or an outright reactionary group, but one which has its own views and own assessment of the situation, its own philosophy. I personally am in total support of what the chairman has said, and I say with complete frankness that I am pleased with this kind of view of our country's future. I can only say we decided that we would jointly strive for those two forces to take shape without unnecessary conflicts, for Poland does not need them, it simply does not. I also said that political systems have their beginning and their end, but the most important thing for us is the Polish people, its future. If we were not on this earth, the nation would remain; we must put our own passions aside sometimes, so to speak, and our own prejudices, which have accumulated over the years. Luckily, we are able to do this, and therefore I am enormously pleased that this meeting has taken place today (?after years).

[Gozel] Is the meeting place fortuitous—here in the Sejm building?

[Rakowski] I am no formalist. I could just as easily have gone to the Central Committee, particularly because we have—I have—a great deal to do. The next meeting may be at the Central Committee; it may just as easily be at Solidarity headquarters. That is not important. The important thing is what we settle, what we resolve for society, for all of us.

[Gozel] Have you already fixed the date for another meeting?

[Walesa] [Word indistinct]; yes. We will probably meet sometime at that famous lake [not further identified]—I caught nice fish there, too—but that will be when they throw us out! But today, in order to solve problems, we will be meeting as and when the situation requires. Maybe we will meet halfway, maybe Mieczyslaw's step [word indistinct], maybe in Warsaw, or maybe in Gdansk—that depends on what is needed.

[Gozel] With what hopes and fears are you entering the New Year?

[Walesa] Probably with the same as those everybody else in Poland has—we are afraid of this New Year. We are afraid of the economic effects; we are afraid of increases; we are afraid of (?misunderstandings); we are afraid and so is society as a whole. But, at the same time, we hope, along with the rest of society, that we will manage by joining forces to solve the difficult Polish problems.

[Rakowski] I agree. I think the word hope used by the chairman is just what is making us somewhat optimistic. I think that there is every chance in Poland, every chance that we will pass through this difficult period, this incredibly difficult period, difficult for all working people in Poland, and get out into the open water and (?ensure) that the Polish ship will sail through the stormy seas more or less without losses and without losing anything overboard. And, regarding going fishing together, we will see who will be first!

[Gozel] And how will you spend the New Year?

[Rakowski] I am spending New Year at home. A lot of friends always come.

[Walesa] I will be at home.

[Gozel] Thank you. [end recording]

Zarnowiec Nuclear Power Plant Building Halted

LD2312184789 Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 23—After a long discussion last night, the council of ministers, in face of the difficult economic situation in the country, resolved to discontinue the construction of the nuclear plant in Zarnowiec in 1990.

The next year will however see a social discussion on the matter as the final decision whether to continue the construction and what to do with the nuclear power industry in Poland in the future must take into account society's opinion. The Council of Ministers will also start intensive work on a programme of power industry development in Poland.

The meeting accepted cabinet's decree on changes in the income equalizing tax, with the average monthly pay amounting to 775,000 zlotys in 1990. Incomes of 16 million zlotys per year will be free from tax. The tax cannot be higher than 40 per cent of the tax base. The Council of Ministers also adopted draft amendments to the law on hard coal communities. The document is to provide legal and organizational foundations for the necessary reforms in the hard coal industry.

Walesa Appeals for End to Hunger Strike

LD0201185690 Warsaw PAP in English 1801 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan 2—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa conveyed an appeal today to four young people who have been on hunger strike since December 8 in protest against nuclear energy in Poland and the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec (near Gdansk).

Walesa recalled that the hunger strike has already been lasting for 26 days and its further prolongation may be fatal.

The future of nuclear power industry in Poland, Walesa stated, will be decided by society through their representatives democratically elected.

The Solidarity leader appealed for stopping the protest action.

AIDS Cases Increasing; Review Needed

AU2612082089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Dec 89 p 2

['kam'-signed report: "AIDS—No Ghettos for the Carriers"]

[Text] During the last 3 years, 593 HIV (AIDS) cases have been confirmed in Poland. The spread of the infection is alarming. This year alone, four times as many cases have come to light than in the years 1987-1988. Among the 25 persons who fully developed AIDS symptoms, 17 have already died.

Approximately 65 percent of the carriers are drug addicts. It is known that 16 of those infected, including 5 children, are hemophiliacs. In the case of the three babies infected by their mothers during pregnancy, the virus disappeared of its own accord within a year of birth.

Approximately 3 million Poles, most of whom are regular blood donors, have now been tested for the virus. These facts were presented by the State Office for Hygiene at a session of the Drug Prevention Commission held at the Ministry of Health on 19 December.

Those participating at that session, including people who are recognized medical authorities, agreed that it was impermissible to create "ghettos" for the carriers of the disease, despite the grave public concern surrounding this issue. Society, and especially the Health Service, cannot abandon these people and leave them without proper care. Cases of refusal to give dental, surgical, and gynecological help to people who are infected are, regrettably, a frequent occurrence. This sort of behavior is unethical and irrational. The carriers are forced to conceal their disease, and this will pose a real danger to doctors. Second, health workers are more at risk from contact with people suffering, for example, from the very dangerous form of viral hepatitis B.

An appeal was made to Professor Tadeusz Chrusciel, a member of the commission and the chairman of the newly formed local doctors association, for the medical profession to review this problem. There was talk about new preventative and treatment programs for the HIV carriers and drug addicts, as well as about the distribution of the meager financial resources in the fight against drug addiction and AIDS.

Poll Shows 67 Percent Support Mazowiecki

LD0101210490 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 1—A total of 67 percent of adult poles consider the present policy of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government as right, a poll held by the CBOS polling centre last November showed. According to 7.9 percent of the number the government has achieved good results, while 59.1 percent think it encounters considerable difficulties.

In the opinion of 18 percent of the respondents the new government has good intentions but is unable to realize them.

According to 6.5 percent of the polled the policy of Mazowiecki's cabinet and its implementation arouse numerous reservations.

Only 0.4 percent of those polled think that the government should resign.

The activity of Mazowiecki's cabinet enjoys currently the same support as that of the Sejm, senate, Solidarity or the church and considerably greater one than the parties represented in the government.

Balcerowicz Urges 'Firm' Economic Reform Measures

LD0101193690 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 1—"It would be our greatest mistake if we avoided firm actions. There are no solutions void of risk in Poland's economic situation. It would be an illusion to believe that it would be possible to avoid risk by putting off difficult decisions," Vice Premier Leszek Balceriwocz told PAP today after the Sejm and the Senate had approved of the economic programme.

"The first step has already been made. The parliament created necessary legal foundations of the new economic order," said he.

"In the near future we will exprience a drop in real incomes. However, without this it would be impossible to quickly halt price rises. This is an extremely significant element of the entire anti-inflation package."

"I believe that it will be received with understanding as I think everybody should be interested in curbing inflation , limiting a fall in production and entering a road of economic development."

"I do not hide that we are facing a period which might be the most difficult. However, we should be aware of the fact that if we did not decide to take radical actions now, social costs would be much bigger though they would be slightly delayed. On the other hand, if we go through this difficult period thanks to joint effort we will be able then to successfully build such an economic order that we want," Balcerowicz concluded.

PPS Chairman Views Political Scene

PM0201162790 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 1 Dec 89 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Polish Socialist Party Chairman Jan Jozef Lipski by Grzegorz Nawrocki—date and place not given]

[Text] [Nawrocki] How near is true independence today?

[Lipski] Not at all near, although certainly much nearer than a year or two ago. We would have to be certain that we know how to recognize true independence when it comes. I think that it will be when, after the first genuinely free elections, the parliament determines which executive authorities should exercise power; however—and let me stress this again—it will have to be a parliament chosen through genuinely free elections. Some people believe there can be no independence as long as foreign troops are stationed in the country. The real question is whether the presence of the troops has been imposed upon us or agreed upon through negotiations. There are foreign troops stationed in the FRG and yet the FRG remains an independent, or, to put it differently, sovereign state. Therefore, it is necessary to fundamentally renegotiate the Warsaw Treaty and all the agreements within CEMA. I think that such renegotiation, carried out by a government appointed by a freely elected parliament, would eventually succeed in removing the factors that restrict our sovereign status. But, after that, it will be up to us to use our sovereign status wisely or stupidly.

[Nawrocki] The popular consensus is that we have seen the end of the Brezhnev doctrine, on the strength of which the USSR felt empowered to intervene in the affairs of its satellite countries, even if it involved armed intervention.

[Lipski] I would like to believe this is true, but I am not altogether convinced that the doctrine is dead.

[Nawrocki] But surely it seems that a revision of the Yalta agreements is taking place before our very eyes—the agreements whereby the West ceded central and East Europe to Stalin's domination. The rigid division of Europe into areas under the absolute influence of one or other system is being questioned. The political talks being held at all levels between East and West, combined with the events in the USSR, Poland, Hungary, and, more recently, the GDR, are modeling a whole new profile for Europe and bringing it ever closer to the concept of European unity—a new European order which could be called an anti-Yalta order.

[Lipski] Indeed, we are entering a new era in the history of mankind, an era in which Yalta will become a thing of the past. However, I am afraid that we might show a lack of political acumen in this critical period. The Soviet Union continues to be a world power and our relations with it could be conducted not solely in terms of the threat it poses for us but rather on the basis of shared interests. Let us hope we do not overlook this aspect.

[Nawrocki] Many political discussions are dominated by the question of the choice of president. Could we not have gone further and selected a president who did not hail from the top echelons of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]? The Hungarians certainly left us far behind in their striving for emancipation.

[Lipski] In my opinion no alternative choice was possible at that point. The balance of power in the National Assembly—and we must remember that this was still before the formation of the new coalition between the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD]—was such that Jaruzelski could have had difficulties as a presidential candidate, but so could any other potential nominee. The question was: If not Jaruzelski, then who? We could have ended up with a presidential appointment crisis on our hands and, because that could not be allowed to continue, we would have had to dissolve the parliament.

[Nawrocki] Both you personally and the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] of which you are chairman have criticized the "privatization dogma."

[Lipski] I believe that we need a far-reaching economic reform committed to the creation of a normal, free market economy. From the economic viewpoint extensive privatization in many areas of the economy could indeed be vitally necessary, but I regard the proposals which aim at a parallel abolition of all elements of state intervention as unsound and unrealistic.

[Nawrocki] Many people are afraid that privatization of industry will give rise to an expansion of foreign—particularly German—capital in Poland.

[Lipski] Such a danger does indeed exist.

[Nawrocki] But at the same time foreign capital is quite reluctant to enter our market. Big bad capitalists are not at all inclined to buy our state- and people-owned factories.

[Lipski] This is also true and we must remember it in our plans and calculations.

[Nawrocki] How does the PPS intend to protect the living standard of the poorest social groups, given the extent of the progressive pauperization of our society?

[Lipski] It is vitally necessary to create a system of protection of the poorest groups in Polish society. The state budget is exhausted, and in consequence the level of assistance will be quite low, but the state must protect its poorest citizens. Below a certain minimum subsistence income this state assistance becomes essential and the money needed to provide it must be found somewhere.

[Nawrocki] Is the PPS a parliamentary or an extraparliamentary political force?

[Lipski] We did not present our own electoral list in the parliamentary elections, but we have three deputies and one senator there and we certainly take part in the work of the parliament.

[Nawrocki] What is your opinion of Solidarity's alliance with the ZSL and the SD and on its proposed alliance with the proreform wing within the PZPR?

[Lipski] I am not a member of Solidarity's leadership circles.. But, speaking as a rank and file Solidarity member, I would vote against any alliance proposals, especially with the PZPR. It is certainly necessary to coexist with the PZPR on the political stage, and many things need to be coordinated with it; but we should not be talking in terms of alliances. If two political powers have decided against attempting to eliminate each other by extreme and drastic methods then they must somehow find a mode of coexistence—but this is still a long way from forming an alliance.

[Nawrocki] Is the PPS preparing for free elections?

[Lipski] No. It is still too early for that. But we are preparing for them indirectly because we are making every effort to use the present time and the next few months to reinforce our organizational structure.

[Nawrocki] The PPS descends from the independence-oriented current of the socialist movement, which can boast such names in its lineage as Puzak, Wojciechowski, Pajdak, and young Pilsudski. Does the fact that you openly admit to being socialists help or hinder you in your work?

[Lipski] In Poland the word "socialism" has bad press because Communists used to hide behind this label—or, to call a spade a spade, they appropriated it with a certain degree of consent on the part of the general public.

[Nawrocki] In your opinion does Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government stand a chance of surviving the stability test?

[Lipski] This depends on what you mean by stability. It certainly stands a chance of surviving for several months, but beyond that I would have to be a prophet to make any predictions.

[Nawrocki] One of the PPS factions, namely the PPS-Revolutionary Democrats [PPS-RD] declares itself in favor of a social or, as we nowadays say, populist revolution, which is something many politicians are afraid of. But, unless I am mistaken, the PPS itself does not foster the idea of revolutionary changes and favors stabilization instead, does it not?

[Lipski] The social democrats are by definition evolutionists rather than revolutionaries. They advocate gradual rather than violent change. We are convinced that any variant of full destabilization of the sociopolitical situation that has been proposed by certain extreme groups would result in total disaster.

[Nawrocki] Recently we have seen growing numbers of social democrats both within Solidarity and among party reformists within the PZPR. There has even been speculation on whether these two trends might not combine into one movement.

[Lipski] I doubt whether there are any social democrats in the PZPR. I have not heard of social democrats who would have condoned the order to open fire on the workers in 1970, or the torture methods practiced on dissidents in 1976, or the imposition of martial law. Someone like that cannot claim to be a social democrat. To quote the famous writer Antoni Slonimski, a drowning man will clutch at a razor blade.

[Nawrocki] But I myself witnessed scenes in which, during electoral meetings, candidate PZPR members repeatedly declared: "As a matter of fact, I am a social democrat myself." One of these is a Central Committee member today...

[Lipski] They obviously declared their allegiance to social democrats for purely practical reasons. After all, it would be much less practical to claim membership of a celestial choir. But they are no more social democrats than they are warbling angels.

[Nawrocki] But there is still a strong tendency for ZSL members to claim allegiance to the Polish Peasant Party ideals and for PZPR members to declare that they are social democrats.

[Lipski] I will not presume to speak for the peasants, but I simply do not trust those social democrats in the PZPR. It may be that they will fully prove their good intentions after 3 or 5 years of working hard to demonstrate them, but as things are today it would actually be very odd if I were to offer them my unreserved trust.

Socialist Party Official Interviewed

AU0512140389 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 1-3 Dec 89 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Malanowski, secretary of the Presidium of the Polish Socialist Party, by Pawel Dybicz; date and place not given: "A Clearly Defined Idea"]

[Text] [Dybicz] We have reached an age in which Janusz Korwin-Mikke from Polish television is saying that there is nothing good about socialism. However, not only do you belong to a party that contains the name "socialist," you even want to introduce this kind of socialism.

[Malanowski] Mr Korwin-Mikke is shouting that he does not love socialism. However, he has never had anything to do with it. According to him, everyone is supposed to look after himself. If someone is poor and unhappy, that is his own fault. We advocate a completely different principle. We do not believe that all men are equal, because one person is sick and the other healthy, one beautiful and the other ugly, and so on. We maintain that all men should have equal rights, but this equality must not be viewed in a primitive way. If it is, it leads to the perpetuation of inequalities.

[Dybicz] So socialism is an attractive vision for failed people?

[Malanowski] It is not for failed people, but for normal people. Under the competitive system of capitalism, talented individuals capable of managing for themselves are a minority. Most people are average.

[Dybicz] Therefore, your party is not addressed to those who have succeeded.

[Malanowski] It is; only we are addressing them in a different way. We are telling them: You have succeeded, so allow us to concentrate on those who have not.

[Dybicz] Are you not being philanthropic?

[Malanowski] No; because the fact that some people have failed is the statistical result of the fact that others have succeeded. Social democratic concepts contain the humanitarianism that is missing in the philosophy of, for example, Mr Korwin-Mikke, in which absolute laws hold sway. We are the ones who want to introduce humanitarianism, and it is no coincidence that, as far as social matters and ownership are concerned, today's socialists are quite close to the teachings of the church, especially the social thinking of John Paul II. The pope is a close social ally of ours.

[Dybicz] So how is modern socialism supposed to be expressed? In the form of a caretaker state [panstwo opiekuncze]?

[Malanowski] Even though Poland claims to be a caretaker state, it is not and never has been one. The objective of socialists is not to form a caretaker state. On the contrary, today's social democratic philosophy calls for, one the one hand, maximum opportunities for those capable of achieving success, and, on the other hand, guarantees of a minimum standard of living for those who cannot.

[Dybicz] But with what resources?

[Malanowski] In our philosophy, a democratic state has certain obligations and must guarantee certain things. Modern socialist thought dispenses with the dogma so far, including the dogma professed by Communists. Thus, the economic sphere must operate according to economic rules and be governed by a market system. It must be marked by more than one system of ownership. We dissociate ourselves from the old communist demand for social justice in the sphere of production and the economy. In a pluralistic economic system, social justice can only begin with the distribution of goods.

With the aid of a taxation system established by a sovereign parliament, one will have to finance education, health, and culture, and build an entire infrastructure.

[Dybicz] Is the social democracy in Sweden a good pattern for you?

[Malanowski] Of course. Our strategy and tactics show this to be the case. Our objectives are fundamentalist, but the paths by which we wish to attain them are reformist. We reject revolution, all violence, and the application of force in public life, from whatever quarter, whether from the authorities or from their opponents.

[Dybicz] You are against revolution, but what are you in favor of?

[Malanowski] We are in favor of a conscious society which, by means of parliamentary principles, compels the authorities to undertake certain changes. Civic disobedience is the most drastic means called for in our program. This strategy has proved such a success in recent years; not just here, but also in Hungary, and lately in the GDR and USSR. From the very beginning, we have been asking not for miracles, but for the implementation of the law in force. The Polish Socialist Party [PPS] prefers an implementation of existing laws to a multiplication of new ones.

[Dybicz] Numerous groups have emerged from the PPS, or rather separated themselves from it, because of different attitudes toward the privatization or reprivatization of national assets and the restoration of property to its rightful owners.

[Malanowski] Some of the calls for reprivatization, advocated by very liberal circles, are in a certain sense a quite understandable reaction, but they lead to yet another extreme situation. It would be bad if the present philosophy of socialization were to be replaced by a philosophy of privatization. In particular, we warn against any arbitrary decision about the size of the private sector. I find it amusing when people say that because 80 percent of assets are state-owned and only 20 percent privately owned, the proportions ought to be reversed.

[Dybicz] What do you propose instead?

[Malanowski] Economic pluralism. Certain processes must be speeded up. One cannot take certain decisions in an irresponsible manner. The forced conversion of state assets into private assets was such a decision. Of course, there are forms of ownership which are difficult to consider private, for example workers assets and workers' joint-stock companies. Neither can one reject the self-management model, including in industry. Personally, I am very disturbed by the fact that during the "roundtable" talks there were very strong calls for workers self-management bodies and demands that the original text of the laws on state enterprises and workers self-management bodies be restored, but Premier Mazowiecki's first Sejm address contained not a single word about workers self-management bodies, and the entire government team has remained silent on this subject. Let me remind you that in its program presented at its first congress, which remains valid, "Solidarity" referred to a "self-managed republic." It would be very dangerous to reject this concept without a broad programmatic debate and without letting society speak out on this subject.

[Dybicz] One of the mistakes of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] was its selective approach toward the history of the Polish workers movement. One can accuse you of the same thing. In fact, you are also very choosy about your partners.

[Malanowski] It is not surprising that we are not referring to the achievements of Barlicki, Dubois, and the so-called united front activists who brought about the events that occurred at the so-called unification congress of 1948. We do not refer to them, though we do not intend to erase them from the history of the Polish socialist movement. We will not do the same thing as the Communists have done. However, we are entitled to make use of those features that are tried and tested. Such a feature is not the pro-communist stream that later allowed itself to be swallowed up by the Polish Workers Party [PPR], but the stream of independent, democratic socialism.

[Dybicz] You are in favor of legitimate, parliamentary forms of power. Do you think the PPS and Polish left wing may at least sit in the future National Assembly, if not win an election outright? Though you need not feel it is your fault, most of the electorate will associate the word socialism with negative life in the Polish People's Republic.

[Malanowski] Let me tell you straight, we are talking not long after the 11 November holiday, when I was able to speak on behalf of the PPS during the annual ceremony before the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. My very short speech met with applause, even though I mentioned the PPS in full and even though our ideas had been very clearly publicized beforehand. I said that after many years, the PPS was once again in the front line of the struggle for a sovereign, democratic, and just Poland. The fact that this ceremony, usually attended by people of a more right-wing disposition, applauded a representative of the PPS shows that people understand what real socialism is after all, apart from which we are at a time when the number of our supporters will increase in a natural way.

[Dybicz] According to world press reports on the Italian Communist Party Congress, during this congress a member of the PZPR leadership, Leszek Miller, addressed you as "comrade." Could that be a sign of a rapprochement between the PZPR and PPS?

[Malanowski] The media which reported that were mistaken. Leszek Miller addressed me as "Mr Andrzej," and I responded with "Mr Leszek." But what the Italian press said about the PPS being treated on an equal footing with the PZPR at this congress is true. This was the first time since the war that a foreign party congress had treated a ruling party as an opposition party.

[Dybicz] You must be watching what is happening inside the PZPR. Forces describing themselves as social democratic forces, people with views similar to yours, are making themselves heard in the PZPR, and may even become predominant. What do you think of what is happening to this party?

[Malanowski] The question is exceedingly difficult. Right now, practically everybody is subscribing to the idea of socialism with a human face, even those who, until recently, were shouting that they would never give up the power they had won. It is very difficult to say to what extent these declarations are sincere, and to what extent they are the result of an unbiased assessment of the situation. All I can say is that the PZPR and people in it would have to make an immense effort to make the PZPR credible in the eyes of society. One day, perhaps some of the groups or organizations that separate themselves from the PZPR will be accepted by at least part of society. One cannot exclude that possibility. However, I do not think the new version of the PZPR will be capable of gaining society's acceptance in the foreseeable future, one of the reasons being the huge difference between the PZPR and Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Fortunately for the MSZMP, it contained many people who had been considered reformists for a long time, people with an unquestioned social democratic orientation.

[Dybicz] What will happen if the next PZPR congress adopts a social democratic program similar to yours? Would a unification be possible?

[Malanowski] I do not think this congress could adopt a program that is fully convergent with ours. If it is only partly convergent, nothing will happen. The question is not just programs, but their implementation. PZPR declarations and programs have contained many things that would have been acceptable to nonparty people if they had ever been implemented. However, the chief accusation against the party which held a monopoly over power for so many years is that deeds did not conform to words, and that led to this party's demise.

[Dybicz] So you do not foresee a unification with PZPR reformists?

[Malanowski] That is quite impossible in the foreseeable future. However, it is possible that people who so far have belonged to various political structures will join the PPS, even people who might still be in the PZPR, but who might want to join the social democratic stream later. But this will be dependent on individual decisions by the people concerned, and on our acceptance of these people into our ranks.

PPS-RD Denies Responsibility for Nowa Huta

LD1412105889 Warsaw PAP in English
1840 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 12—"It is untrue that we are a party of riot-mongers and trouble-makers. Propaganda, both on the part of the Polish United Workers' Party and of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, tries to stick such a label on us. We were not behind, it was suggested, hooligan excesses at the Lenin Monument in Nowa Huta (outside Krakow). We are against such excesses, against using violence," said one of the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) leaders Piotr Ikonowicz at a press conference here today.

"We are neither Trotskyists nor anarcho-syndicalists as some want to see us," added other leaders of the party.

The conference showed that PPS-RD activisists and members are first of all for holding fully democratic elections to the parliament. Presently they try to participate in all non-parliamentary forms of debate on the most important issues in Poland. They intend to take part in elections to territorial self- government. It is a great chance, they say, to dusrupt the nomenklatura (party officials promoted to high posts) still functioning in small towns and villages.

PSL-Odrodzenie Elects Officials 21 Dec

LD2312105289 Warsaw PAP in English
2235 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 21—The Supreme Council of the PSL-Odrodzenie (the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth) met here today for the first time after the party's congress to discuss programmatic and organizational issues. The debates were attended by Honorary Chairman Tadeusz Nowak and Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council was elected in secret voting. Aleksandr Bentkowski, justice minister, Dominik Ludwiczak, farmer from the Poznan Province, and Prof Antoni Podraza of the Krakow-based Agricultural Academy became the council's vice-chairman. Janusz Dobrosz was entrusted with the function of the council's secretary.

The elections to the Supreme Executive Committee lasted till late in the evening.

Chairman of the Supreme Council Jozef Zych took a stand on opinions on the recent Congress of the Peasant Movement. "The congress created grounds for further develoment of the party. However, it did not fulfill hopes of those who attempted to split it," he stated.

Chairman of the Supreme Executive Committee Kazimierz Olesiak briefed the participants in the session on contacts and talks between his party and the PSL (the Polish Peasant Party) of Gen Franciszek Kaminski. He voiced the conviction that if the unification of the peasant movement had depended on chairmen alone, this goal would have been achieved still before Christmas.

The Supreme Council of the party presented its stance on issues most important for agriculture in a resolution concerning the country's current economic situation. It stressed that free market of agricultural products, deprived of definite state interventionism, leads to decreased profitability of agricultural production in face of monopolies in procurement and processing and of hyper-inflation.

The council positively assessed the recent Sejm debate on assumptions of the government agricultural policy.

In a statement on the tragic events in Romania the party's Supreme Council voiced a protest against the brutal violation of human rights and bloody suppression of democratic strivings of the Romanian people towards freedom and civil liberties.

It appealed to all democratic forces in the country and the world to make efforts to exert pressure on Romanian authorities to immediately stop brutal activities, abandon the road of bloody dictatorship and start dialogue with their own society.

In another statement the Supreme Council expressed full support for a stand taken by Poland's foreign minister on the development of Polish-German relations. It firmly voiced dissatisfaction over cases of discrimination of Polish citizens on the GDR territory and obliged the Supreme Executive Committee to follow developments there and take appropriate moves.

After the session the party's Supreme Executive Committee met to elect Stanislaw Dabrowski and Roman Jagielinski its vice-chairmen. It adopted a principle that its members would not be paid for work on the body.

National Party Criticizes Food Policy

LD2412163889 Warsaw PAP in English 1416 GMT 24 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 24—The main board of the SN National Party held a meeting chaired by Prof Stefan Jarzebski on Dec 22 to assess the provisions of the government agrarian policy for 1990 in light of Sejm debates and the Sejm resolution on the matter.

The SN states that for the past 45 years the Polish Government's policy was subordinated to either communist ideology or the interests of various interest groups which treated agriculture and the countryside instrumentally.

Despite expectations, also the present non-Communist Polish Government headed by a Catholic premier does change the to-date policy and does not treat issues of agriculture as the foundation of pulling Poland from economic catastrophe. The provisions of the government agrarian policy for 1990 and the Sejm debates go to show this, the SN stated.

The provisions of this policy, in the opinion of the SN main board:

—Do not lead to Poland's food self-sufficiency in the future.

—Do not lead to making agriculture and the food industry the key branch of the national economy.

—Go against Catholic social teachings, John Paul's 2 encyclicals inclusive.

Mazowieck Meets Democratic Party's Jozwiak

LD2912102389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party Central Committee. They discussed current socioeconomic problems.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 19-23 Dec

AU0301094690

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 20 to 27 December reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

Leszek Miller, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Wlodzimierz Natorf, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Eiichi Nagasue, chairman of the Japanese Socialist Democratic Party (MINSHA) and deputy chairman of the Socialist International; Keinosuke Kinoshita, member of the Japanese parliament and director of the party paper; Hiroyuki Konishi, member of parliament and director of the party's youth policy; Sachiko Taguchi, director of the party's international department; and Mitsutaka Akiho, Japanese ambassador to Poland. (20 Dec 89 p 2)

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, chaired a meeting of the PZPR local voivodship secretaries and the directors of the Central Committee commissions, on 22 December. (27 Dec 89 p 1)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, received Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the main board of the National Christian Union, on 21 December. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-26 Dec 89 p 2) He received Archbishop Jozef Kowalczyk, papal nuncio in Poland, on 23 December. (27 Dec 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski, received represenatives of the Association of the Homeless with its chairman Roman Nowicki, on 19 December. (20 Dec 89 p 2) He also received Elzbieta Lecznarowicz, chairperson of the Polish Women's League, on 19 December. (20 Dec 89 p 2) He received a group of newly promoted academicians, on 21 December. (22-26 Dec 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, chaired a meeting of the club, on 20 December. (21 Dec 89 p 6)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, attended a reception for senior defense personnel at the Belvedere Palace, on 21 December. (27 Dec 89 p 2)

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, chaired a meeting of a Central Committee team researching the history of the Polish United Workers Party, on 20 December. (21 Dec 89 p 2)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski, received R.J.H. Kruising, chairman of the Netherlands-Poland Society. (21 Dec 89 p 2)

More Decrees Issued on Ministerial Appointments

AU0201210990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Here are a series of decrees issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front:

Decree regarding the creation of the Ministry of Geology:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Geology is created through the reorganization of the Geology Department-Central, which is abolished.

Article 2. Ioan Folea is appointed Minister of Geology.

In two other decrees issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front, Nicolae Dicu is appointed Minister of Mines and Vasile Volosenic is appointed President of the Romanian Bank of Foreign Trade.

Decree regarding the establishment of the Ministry of Transport and of the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications:

Article 1. According to the present decree, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Post and Telecommunications are established by dividing the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications which is being disbanded.

Article 2. Corneliu Burada is appointed Minister of Transportation.

Article 3. Stelian Pintilie is appointed Minister of Post and Telecommunications.

Decree regarding the establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Trade:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree, the Ministry of Foreign Trade is established through the reorganization of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation which is disbanded.

Article 2. Nicolae M. Nicolae is appointed Minister of Foreign Trade.

Decree regarding the dismantling of the Socioeconomic Organization Council:

Sole Article. On the basis of the present decree, the Socioeconomic Organization Council is disbanded.

Decree regarding the dismantling the Committee for People's Councils Affairs:

Sole Article. On the date of the present decree, the Committee for People's Councils Affairs is disbanded.

All decrees are signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front.

NSF Appoints New Deputy Foreign Minister

AU0201191290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] The Council of the National Salvation Front decrees:

Sole article. Mircea Mitran is appointed deputy foreign affairs minister.

Signed, the Chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front, Ion Iliescu.

Appointment of Interim Tourism Minister

AU0201205290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] The following is a government communique: Empowered by the Council of the National Salvation Front, Mr Mihai Lupoi will function as interim minister at the Ministry of Tourism.

[Signed] Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Fortuna Considers Running in April Election

AU2912170089 Paris AFP in English 1609 GMT 29 Dec 89

[By Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Timisoara, Romania, Dec 29 (AFP)—Lorin Fortuna, regional president of the provisional government in Timisoara, called Friday for social democracy in Romania on the Western model, paving the way for closer ties with the country's new rulers.

Mr. Fortuna, who has never been a member of the Romanian Communist Party, was speaking to Agence France-Presse as the governing National Salvation Front announced it would bring in multi-party democracy and still fulfill its commitments within the Warsaw Pact.

"Our long-term goal is to become part of the European house," said Mr. Fortuna, 41. "We are Latins. We are Europeans and we want to be reintegrated into Europe."

Mr. Fortuna, an electronics engineer teaching at the Timisoara polytechnic, helped organize massive anti-Ceausescu demonstrations in the Transylvian town that led within a week to last Friday's fall of Mr. Ceausescu, who was executed with his wife on Monday.

He put the death toll in clashes between demonstrators and pro-Ceausescu security forces, who brutally opened fire on crowds in Timisoara streets, at between 3,500 and 4,000.

Named president of a provincial council of the National Salvation Front (NSF) formed from a committee here during the bloody riots of December 17 and 18, Mr. Fortuna is due Saturday in Bucharest for talks with the new national president, Ion Iliescu.

The new authorities in Timisoara, which has emerged as a non-communist stronghold whose people are largely ethnic Hungarians, has had awkward relations with the interim government in Bucharest.

The NSF includes a number of Communists including Mr. Iliescu, though the latter was by no means a Ceausescu man, and officials here regretted that Romanian television—the sole source of news—had not sent a team to cover events in Timisoara for several days.

"We want a multi-party system," Mr. Fortuna said. "The communist party will have the right to exist, too, and I'm sure that people will vote for it."

He stressed that misunderstandings with the Bucharest NSF had been cleared up, but added that there was no question of allowing the return to power of men such as Radu Balan, who led the Communist Party in the province until Mr. Ceausescu's downfall.

While each province should get one representative on the ruling NSF Council, "there will be two or three from Timisoara in recognition of our role in the revolution," Mr. Fortuna said, citing a promise he attributed to Mr. Iliescu.

He added that he was thinking of standing in the elections due on April 30 next year on behalf of the Romanian Democratic Front, created during the uprising.

Mr. Fortuna said that the Socialist Republic of Romania had become simple Romania, thus opening the way for the return of King Michael, who is living in exile but said he would not be adverse to going home if asked.

"Morally, he (King Michael) has been with us and he certainly deserves a post as honorary president. Most Romanians would find that completely natural," Mr. Fortuna said.

On Romania's immediate problems, he stressed the need for "cooking oil ... milk, fodder and protein concentrate for cattle".

"Romania needs a new Marshall Plan," he said, in a reference to massive U.S. aid to Europe after World War II.

He signed a first decree Friday authorizing the reconstruction of one of the villages destroyed under Mr. Ceausescu's hated forced assimilation scheme, which uprooted ethnic Hungarians from their village homes to frightful 'agro-industrial' complexes.

In the longer term, Mr. Fortuna wanted to get private farming moving and build up cattle stocks. Many beasts have died of starvation, he said.

"In the hospitals, the situation is more or less all right. But we are short of vitamins.

"This is a serious problem, because the people have been deprived of vitamins for years and years," he added.

Tokes Will Take Government Job if 'People Want'

AU2912175689 Paris AFP IN English 1635 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, Dec 29 (AFP)—Pastor Laszlo Tokes, whose arrest two weeks ago detonated the Romanian revolution, has said he will take a government post if "the people want", in an interview to appear in Bild Zeitung on Saturday.

"I was put forward as a (government) minister, but I am first and foremost a religious man, not a politician," the pastor told the mass-circulation West German daily.

"However, if the people want it, I will say 'yes'."

Pastor Tokes, 37, sparked the revolution when Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu's security forces fired on demonstrators who turned out on December 17 and 18 to prevent him being deported from the Transylvian town of Timisoara, where he had spoken out for the rights of ethnic Hungarians.

"I am not a hero, I'm just an ordinary man who was doing his duty according to his conscience," Mr. Tokes said in the interview, conducted as he travelled by train from Cluj, the Transylvanian capital to Bucharest.

The hundreds of people gunned down in Timisoara "only wanted to help me", he added. "The Securitate (secret police) accused me of the deaths. I am morally destroyed. That hurts.

"My first wish is to go back (to Timisoara) to conduct a service there."

Pastor Tokes has become a member of the 145-strong National Salvation Front in Bucharest, which Thursday set up a virtually complete government, including many communists and former communists, with sweeping powers.

The reformed church pastor said he believed the execution of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife Elena after a court martial Monday was "just".

"But the way the two bodies were shown on television was cruel and undignified," he added.

"Personally, I didn't hate him (Mr. Ceausescu), God forgive him."

Pastor Tokes had harsher words for his own bishop, Laszlo Papp, who had renounced him but later resigned.

He was a "traitor" and an "agent" of the Securitate, Mr. Tokes said.

Forum for Ethnic Germans Established

*LD3112094789 Hamburg DPA in German
0853 GMT 31 Dec 89*

[Text] Bucharest (DPA)—Approximately 230,000 ethnic German Romanians have begun to form a "Democratic Fourum of Romanian Germans". As the Protestant city pastor of Bucharest, Guenther Ambrosi, who was elected chairman of the Bucharest Forum group, announced yesterday evening, such groups had been formed in almost all towns with an ethnic German minority. The forum wants to contribute to "Romania growing back into the community of European nations."

According to Ambrosi, the ethnic Germans "could have the function of a bridging role in this." At the founding meeting of the Bucharest Forum on Friday evening the formation of a party of ethnic Germans was also discussed. The Hungarian minority is also discussing the formation of its own political party. Ambrosi thinks the German minority is probably too small to found an independent party.

The Bucharest meeting, which the forum chairmen from Sibiu, Medias, and other towns attended, showed its solidarity with the aims of the new people in power in a message to the Council of the National Salvation Front. The ethnic Germans welcome the rights of the minority nationalites in a pluralist society proclaimed by the committee. "We are dependent on the understanding and protection of the democratic Romanian state for our continued cultural and ethnic existence," Ambrosi stressed.

According to the pastor, the ethnic Germans have mainly suffered indirect repression under the Ceausescu regime. Whoever professed his adherence to the church "had no chance of progressing in his career". Whoever had relatives abroad was also discriminated against. Since 1945, over 200,000 ethnic German Romanians had emigrated to Germany. According to Ambrosi, over 100 German- speaking Protestant pastors had left the country over the past 20 years. There are still 114 pastors for the around 115,000 ethnic German Protestants in Romania.

Promotion of Army Officers Announced 30 Dec

*AU3112185889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1027 GMT 31 Dec 89*

["Officers' Promotion Festivity"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—Several officers of the Romanian Army were promoted during a festivity on Saturday, 30 December.

Congratulating them, the President of the National Salvation Front Council Ion Iliescu referred to the outstanding contribution the Army has made in the last few days of defending the country, to pursuing the declassees who kept the population under terror. He stated that the Army acted with true patriotism, understanding the essence of the people's revolt, the revolution of the population, of the Romanian youth against the dictatorship. The deep meaning of these events has reflected in the way of action of all the population's strata, and it is an act of honour that the Army was on the side of the people. This must inspire us in future as well, he also said. We must ensure the population's peace, give it certainty, and do so as to pass with all our forces to the peaceful, constructive work that is waiting for us.

State Committee Issues Pricing Regulations

*AU2812235389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
2222 GMT 28 Dec 89*

["Current Preoccupations of the State Committee on Prices"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1989—The major preoccupation of the State Committee on Prices in Romania in this period is the urgent establishment of the retail prices for the population's supply, especially with foods so far held only for export and now turned to the home market, as well as with other food and industrial products of the country's current production. The category of the foodstuffs meant for export that did not have prices for the home market include: cryovac packed weanling sirloin, boneless pork neck packed in plastic bags, beef and weanling boneless steak, pork ham, and meat preserves. The newly established prices are strictly set at the levels of prices in existence, correlated by quality, without being raised.

The regulations as regards to the peasant market are revised. These regulations pursue to encourage the peasants to bring produce to the market, including produce that was forbidden on the free market—cereals and meat, for instance—and to seek out methods of averting profiteering phenomena though.

Repeated price increases with electricity were made since 1979, prices that have reached by now a quite arbitrary tariff and norm system of the consumption and tariffs hard to bear for the population. This system was introduced under a decree issued by the former dictator, without consulting and having the approval of the competent institutions, meaning the State Committee on Prices and the Ministry of Electric Power, that learned of it from the press.

Regulations are currently being studied with regard to the tariffs of electricity for the population.

Interview With NSF's Council Member Brucan

*AU0201233690 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1753 GMT 2 Jan 90*

[Interview with veteran Communist leader Silviu Brucan, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, by editor Carmen Dumitrescu on Romanian television—broadcast live by Romanian radio hook up]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In view of the great number of protests and criticisms made by editor Carmen Dumitrescu, who appears in this program, Professor Brucan asks the radio and television audience to concentrate on what he has to say in the following program and to draw appropriate conclusions. [passage omitted on Brucan explaining the historical background that led to his break with former Romanian Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu in 1965 and the persecutions he endured afterward]

[Dumitrescu] Here is a question which I admit was prepared in advance, because I knew that you did not have too much time to think over what I want to ask you. You resigned, but you did not abandon everything you believed in and everything you thought about the position you should take against the odious regime. Then came Brasov in 1987. We were terrified by the initial news we heard from radio stations abroad; a few hours later, BBC announced that you had a statement to make. I would like those in the studio to read this declaration, to see what you said at that time, after which we will come back with the necessary commentaries, if your agree.

[Unidentified male speaker] Declaration on the Brasov demonstration: The demonstration of Brasov workers is a turning point in the political history of Romania, as a socialist state. A period of crisis has begun in the relations between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the workers class, which until now has ensured the political stability of the regime.

As of 1980, the situation of the workers has gone from bad to worse, and the Brasov eruption signals that the cup of anger has spilled over and that the workers class no longer accepts being treated as an obedient servant.

The recent decree on energy actually asks the workers to [word indistinct] and freeze in their apartments. The leadership is now confronted with a difficult choice: mass repression, because we are dealing with thousands of workers, or an honest effort to satisfy their legitimate demands. Of course, the dominant tendency today is strongly in favor of the second choice. Repression may have incalculable domestic and international consequences. World public opinion is a formidable force today in the defense of human rights.

[Dumitrescu] Can you (?elaborate on this)?

[Brucan] I have quite a few friends in Brasov, and when I heard of the beatings and torture of workers by special Securitate teams sent there, I decided to make a stand in the defense of workers. I invited home two journalists, one from the BBC and one from UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, and I gave them a short statement. I drafted it so as to make it very efficient; its echo was quite extraordinary, both at home and abroad. Next day, the Securitate installed two militiamen in front of my home. It was a form of house arrest. [passage omitted on persecutions he endured and a trip he made abroad]

[Dumitrescu] Then followed the letter from the six. From the very moment I heard it, I guessed that it was the result of your thinking, although it was signed by six people. I recognized your style and thoughts. [passage omitted] I, for one, have boundless trust in everything foreign radio stations said, because great journalists cannot live if they do not tell the truth. [passage omitted] I ask again those in the studio to read us this letter, after which we will continue.

[Brucan] This is an important document in our political movement [word indistinct].

[Unidentified male speaker] Appeal of the six: At a time when the very idea of socialism, for which we struggled, is discredited by your policy and when our country is isolated in Europe, we decided to take a stand. We are perfectly aware of the fact that, in doing this, we risk our freedom and even our lives; but we feel it is our duty to call on you to change the current political course, before it is too late.

1. The international community holds against you the fact that you do not observe the Helsinki Final Act, which you personally signed. The Romanian citizens hold against you the fact that you disregard the Constitution, on which you took your oath. Here are the actual facts:

a) The entire plan of village systematization and the forced move of peasants into three-storied blocks is in opposition to Article 36 of the Constitution, which protects the right to hold in personal property a household with its facilities and grounds.

b) The decree which forbids citizens to have contacts with foreigners was never voted on by the legislative forum and was never publicized. Therefore, it is devoid of legal power. In spite of this, our citizens are threatened with loss of their jobs, torture, arrest, and sentencing on the basis of this decree.

c) The Civic Center, the largest multi-billion lei investment in Romania, has no public budget and is built opposition to all laws regulating construction and its financing. The cost of this huge building has tripled because of indoor and outdoor modifications you ordered month by month.

d) The Securitate, which we created to defend the socialist order against the exploiting classes is now directed against the workers, who demand their rights, and against old party members and honest intellectuals who make use of their right to petition—Article 34—and to freedom of speech—Article 28—guaranteed by the Constitution.

e) Factories and institutions order and force their employees to work on Sundays, against Article 19 of the Constitution and the Labor Code.

f) Postal service is violated violently and systematically and our telephone conversations are broken off, which runs contrary to Article 34, which guarantees their security.

In short, the Constitution is practically suspended and there is no legal system in the country now. You must admit, Mr President, that a society cannot function if authorities, beginning with the top, show disregard for the law.

2. Planning no longer functions in the socialist economy. All meetings of the Political Executive Committee deal with the past and condemn the workers to recover plan lags from the previous year, semester, or month. An ever larger number of factories are short of raw materials.

3. The agrarian policy is in disorder. Brutal administrative measures are taken against peasants, who, according to figures, are producing 40 percent of vegetables, 56 percent of fruits, 60 percent of milk, and 44 percent of the meat, although they only possess 12 percent of the arable land. However, the prevalent fear in villages now, is to be systematized. Seven to eight thousand villages are threatened with erasure from the surface of the earth. To the economic, cultural, and humanitarian objections of the civilized world regarding this program, one should add another legitimate question: Why urbanize the villages when you cannot ensure decent urban living conditions in towns—that is, heating, lighting, and transportation, let alone food. A government, which for five consecutive winters has proven unable to solve such vital problems for the people, is incompetent and unable to govern. Therefore, we do not (?insist with you) on this point.

4. The very fact that the Germans, Hungarians, and Jews are emigrating from the country en mass, is an indication that the policy of force assimilation should end.

5. Finally, we are profoundly worried over the fact that Romania's international policy and prestige are rapidly deteriorating. As you know, this is concretely shown in the decision of a large number of states to close their embassies in Bucharest. The most alarming fact is that embassies of some European states—Norway, Denmark, Portugal—have closed down and others will follow suit. Our growing isolation does not affect only our diplomatic relations. We lost our American clause, hence, some of our textile factories have no orders. The Common Market no longer wants to extend the joint agreement with Romania, something which will have a negative impact on other sectors of our economy.

You always claimed that summit meetings are decisive for improving interstate relations. How can you improve Romania's foreign relations, when all leaders of noncommunist European countries refuse to meet with you? Romania remains a European country; consequently, it must progress in step with the Helsinki process, not regress. You began to change the geography of our villages, but you cannot move Romania to Africa.

In order to halt the negative domestic and international processes which hurt our nation, we appeal to you, as a first step, to adopt the following measures:

1. To declare categorically and unequivocally that you renounce the village systematization plan.

2. To restore constitutional rights regarding human rights. This will enable you to observe the decisions of the Vienna Conference on human rights.

3. To cease food exports, which jeopardize the biological existence of our nation.

Once these steps are taken, we are ready to participate, in a constructive spirit, in a dialogue with the government, on ways and means to overcome the current (?deadlock).

[Signed] Alexandru Birladeanu, Corneliu Manescu, Constantin Pirvulescu, Grigore Raceanu, Silviu Brucan, Gheorghe Apostol.

[Brucan] When I returned home, I began to prepare the appeal of the six. I believed that, given the new situation created in East Europe, we should initiate a movement for change and reform in our country too. [passage omitted on Ceausescu ignoring the appeal and persecuting the signatories]

[Dumitrescu] I cannot claim that I am a foreign policy commentator. Everybody knows what my occupation is, but as a journalist and woman who is living in this country, of course, I know through foreign radio stations, that 1989 was the year of Europe; that many of the countries that are members, or rather all of the Warsaw Pact member countries have settled the problem with the Communist Party. Thus, this problem is posed in our country. In the street all the people ask: What is the position of the Communist Party at this point? You can provide an extraordinary clarification for Europe on the whole and, of course primarily for Romania—this is important for us.

[Brucan] Yes, Yes. I think we have to start from the characteristic of the people's revolution in Romania. What is it that makes this revolution differ from what happened in the other countries around us. As far as the countries around us are concerned, there was either a reformist wing that had reached the leadership of the Communist Party, as was the case of the Soviet Union that initiated the change, the reform; or, as was the case in the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Poland, the pressure of the masses brought about a split in the party, so that there was an internal struggle within the party between the reformist branch and the conservative branch; a struggle in which the reformist branch won.

In Romania, Ceausescu's repression was so effective that no reformist group and no reformist branch was able to crystallize in the party. The people's explosion on Friday, 22 December, was indeed an explosion without an organized political leadership to plot this movement and then take over afterward.

In fact, the National Salvation Front and its leadership was formed at the time of the uprising; I can safely say that it was formed when the Central Committee building was stormed and taken—when the television station was stormed—which was the first strategic target of this movement.

It was then that we, who initiated this movement, met while the Communist Party was left outside this whole revolutionary process; it was left outside the revolution.

The Communist Party was identified with Ceausescu to such an extent—and given the fact that within the party there was no serious action that would lead the party to dissociate itself from Ceausescu—that the Romanian public opinion, justifiably, views the Romanian Communist Party as being associated with Ceausescu.

[Dumitrescu] Thus, completely compromised.

[Brucan] And because of this, I think that the Romanian Communist Party is finished. This is (?unquestionable). This does not mean that if some of its members want to participate in the election under the aegis of the Romanian Communist Party they cannot do so as any other party. However, my opinion is that in our country's political life, this party is finished.

[Dumitrescu] It would be interesting to see who might assume the leadership of this party [words indistinct].

[Brucan] If there are people left who care for this name and want to save it; to change it; to look for a new identity, as has been done in other countries; to work out a new program and so forth, they are free to do so. However, I repeat, in my opinion, this party is finished.

[Dumitrescu] Mr Brucan, I am somehow the carrier of the sentiments echoed in the street, because these days I have been there, not because I want to be a hero, but I was there all the time and a great many people asked me why the Ceausescu's were hastily executed. Even the U.S. President George Bush—greeting the new situation in Romania—said that it was the affair of the Romanian people, but that he would have liked to see a longer trial. The Romanians would have liked a sort of Nueremberg. They should have been held one or two months before being taken to trial; there should have been a trial of agriculture; why did it go bankrupt, why was the national existence wiped out; in my view this is the most serious issue, that comes even before industry. Why was industry ruined? How was this possible? We know all this, but you know the people would have liked to hear and see the Ceausescu's for themselves. Why the haste? I understand that there are greater reasons. Can you reveal them now?

[Brucan] The only ideal solution, both from the political and judicial point of view, would have been the one you mentioned, namely a public trial, with a broad audience, that would also contribute to the education of people. However, especially during Sunday [24 December], a critical situation arose, so that judicial and political considerations were of secondary importance and the military ones became of primary importance. This means that we noted, especially in the course of day on Sunday, that the Army was unable to keep the situation under control; that troops and individuals, who were making use of terrorist methods, were expanding their area of action in Bucharest and were expanding to new areas and attacking new strategic points.

Thus we began to think of a method to bring about a turning point in the balance of forces [words indistinct]. The security forces knew where the two tyrants were located. Moreover, they tried a few times to attack the garrison where they were being held. Thus, the question arose if they would not succeed in entering the garrison and free them.

[Dumitrescu] Were they arrested in the country or abroad?

[Brucan] They were arrested in the country when they disembarked a helicopter in the area near Tirgoviste on their way to a plane which they were to take to flee the country.

That was the moment when they were arrested and detained in this garrison, which was constantly under attack. And if you think of the situation in the country and the situation in the garrison, you should realize that there was hardly any choice. If they had succeeded in being freed and this demented criminal had taken over the leadership of the action, we would have had a bloodbath in Romania of hundreds upon hundreds, even millions of people. I do not think they could have won the battle, but they would have turned the country into a bloodbath. This is the main reason which made us decide Sunday night to rapidly organize the trials and to immediately execute them.

[Dumitrescu] Although I think that it is now clear for everybody, I would like to ask you about the exact military situation from the 22 [of December] to date. While I am referring to this situation, I recall a long discussion between us, one that we held many years ago, and our subsequently meeting, after a long period, in the television studio corridors—I don't exactly know how many days ago— and you said the following, or something to the effect: We were taken in in the first days.—Is it true?

[Brucan] To a certain extent, there is some truth to this. That is, on that Sunday, I was with the other people in the leadership of the Front's Council, at the Ministry of National Defense. We spent several days and nights there where we undertook this decision. Its correctness has been proved by the fact that after the announcement of their sentence, there was a turning point. At that moment, their forces began to surrender; the intensity of actions began to lessen; the Army took over the initiative, although our Army was not prepared for this type of urban guerrilla warfare for which the security had been trained. As a matter of fact, Ceausescu had prepared them for a war against the people. By now it is clear that the whole supply of the security forces, from a technical point of view, and their training was much superior to the Army's training. This was a deliberate policy of Ceausescu's, to neglect the Army in the past years and reduce its budget, and also a deliberate policy that everything that was new technologically was allocated to security and not to the Army....

[Dumitrescu, interrupting] While sending the Army to harvest and to construct canals.

[Brucan] Yes, to build canals, to gather the crops, while the security people were...

[Dumitrescu, interrupting] ...training...

[Brucan] ...training very, very seriously; especially at this elite school of theirs, which was led by General Nicolae Ceausescu, the brother of the same name. In addition, they were operating on the basis of a plan—that is, they had places to meet, they had places to train with ammunition and weapons, and they had well-functioning means of communication, well-functioning means of transportation, and they had underground passages in complete order. All these were, as a matter of fact, concentrated in a whole plan, which in military terminology is called a "contingency plan," a plan for a certain eventuality, which they began implementing the moment they received the signal.

[Dumitrescu] And do you think, Mr Brucan, that all this was the restult of Ceausescu's thinking? We believed that...

[Brucan, interrupting] No, this situation, and the Securitate in general, was not a result of his thinking. It was all a result of the stress that he laid on the forces of antipopular repression, concentrated at the Ministry of Interior and Security.

[Dumitrescu] That means there were many demented persons.

[Brucan] Yes, there were enough demented people who were ready carry out the drastic orders, to implement this policy of Ceausescu's. I was saying that as of Monday evening, after people learned about the execution of the two Ceausescus', the situation changed radically. That was a turning point. The Army began to take over gradually; to take control of the situation, and gradually eliminate the terrorist elements from the battle. I personally believe that the terrorist elements still left after those who surrendered in time, still pose a certain danger. They are no longer able to attack institutions, enterprises, or do anything of great proportion, however, with the special weapons they have, they can still endanger the lives of some people, and I am especially referring to the people who at present are important in this country. I believe that here lies the major danger that we will have to face for a while, from these fanatic elements, who do not want to give up, who have still not decided to give up, and who are still on the loose.

[Dumitrescu] We believed that there is no person in this country who could love him [Ceausescu]. And, here it is; fanaticism is a form of love.

[Brucan] Fanaticism is not a form of love. However, one has to take into consideration the fact that these people were a very privileged category and that their material situation was much superior to the situation of the Army's soldiers. Their salaries were much higher than salaries in the Army and they had other advantages and benefits, as well. Apart from that, they were brought up in a spirit which is very similar to that of the Iron Guards [World War II fascist Romanian paramilitary group]—that is, from all these terrorist elements that were caught and investigated, we were able to discover that they had taken an oath that they would defend Ceausescu and the lady to the very end. I can give a very good example. Two of those who had been caught said that they would not consider themselves free of this oath until they had seen the film or picture in which it is clear that they are dead. And since in the first film there was no such scene, we ordered that the final scenes be added to the old film, scenes in which one can see that they were dead, plus two colored pictures taken after they had died. I would like to add something to this, which I believe is very important. When the officer who was in charge of the military unit designated to carry out the sentence asked the soldiers "Who wants to fire?" the answer was a general burst of gunfire. All of them fired.

[Dumitrescu] Honest people, all of them?

[Brucan] Honest or not, I do not know if that is the right expression. But I want to say that all soldiers who were part of that unit, all of them, fired without exception. There was no need to choose three or four of them to execute the sentence. There was a general burst of gunfire. I saw the film and that is the truth.

[Dumitrescu] [Passage omitted on improved situation] What are the new leadership's priorities?

[Brucan] From the outset, we agreed that our priorities will have to be to satisfy the immediate need of the population, and if we want this revolution to be consolidated and to be successful, we have to start by fulfilling the most urgent needs of the population—that is, foodstuffs, heating, light and electricity, and health care. Fortunately, we have achieved some results in this direction because we believed that the most important thing is that people should feel that the revolution brought them something concrete and an end has been put to this era in which they have been humiliated from this point of view and their needs have been disregarded. It is a unique case in the history of mankind that 6 or 7 years in a row, a winter with such hardships and difficulties transpired, without it occurring to the governors to give an explanation of the situation or show any willingness to improve it; as if they didn't even care about it. [passage omitted on further examples of former authorities neglect of the people]

[Dumitrescu] As a matter fact, what do you do now and what is your role in the leadership of the country?

[Brucan] I have written an article in ROMANIA LIBERA...

[Dumitrescu, interrupting] I have not had time to read it; I am sorry.

[Brucan] ...in which I said that it is a revolution of the young people. I believe that the decisive factor, as far as the people's movement is concerned, is the young people and if this is going to be a real revolution, then young people should come first. That is why I have officially refused any kind of position. I have accepted one position, to preside over the commission of foreign affairs. This is exclusively a honorific position, which will end at a certain point; and there is no doubt that I am, and will be, at the Council's disposal for any kind of advice or contribution that I can make to the success of this revolution.

[Dumitrescu] Thank you, and I am waiting with the greatest confidence for a new tomorrow which indeed will come, today, or Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday.

[Brucan] I can only say that I am also waiting for us to resume a normal life, and let all us be glad of...

[Dumitrescu, interrupting] ...of the year that has just begun...

[Brucan] ....Of this revolution that came unexpectedly and which has brought about unexpected improvements and which will still bring us serious problems, because we have inherited an extremely difficult situation. I was telling a foreign journalist that for the time being, Romania does not face the problem of reform but the problem of chaos. One cannot reform chaos. First we have to achieve order and get an understanding of the reality of our situation. We were told that we have 60 million tonnes of grain and we have found less than 17 million. This is the case in all areas, everywhere there were only lies. So first we have to understand the reality of the situation and on the basis of these realities, we will have to decide how to proceed.

[Dumitrescu] Thank you, and happy New Year, Mr Brucan.

[Brucan] The same to you.

Paris LE MONDE Interviews Brucan

PM0201161490 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Dec 89 pp 1,5

[Interview with Silviu Brucan, member of the Romanian National Salvation Front, by Georges Marion in Bucharest; date not given—first three paragraphs are LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] Bucharest—Silviu Brucan, a lecturer in social sciences at Bucharest University, is known to everybody in his country. In foreign countries, his name was not heard outside the limits of scientific circles until 1987 when he publicly protested the violent repression of workers' riots in Brasov, for which he was imprisoned. Almost as soon as he was released, he committed another offense by publishing an open letter some time before the last Romanian Communist Party [RCP] congress calling on congress delegates to rid the country of General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

At the time, Silviu Brucan was addressing his former family. He had been a Communist since his youth, a resistance fighter, chief editor of party daily SCINTEIA, ambassador to Washington and then to the United Nations, director general of television and a lecturer, and, together with Mr Iliescu, Mr Mazilu, and Mr Roman, he is now one of the four leading men in Romania. He prefers the corridors of power to the front of the stage. "I am an eminence grise" he said, laughing. Above all, he is one of the few men who took the decision to have Ceausescu executed without remorse or a guilty conscience. He is a member of the National Salvation Front Executive Committee but says he is not seeking any title or responsibility. "Make way for the young people! The young people have been marvellous," he said.

He is 73 years old, has a profile like that of an eagle, and lives shut in his office in the foreign ministry where the drapes are permanently closed "for security," he said, "because of guns with telescopic sights."

[Marion] Some people have criticized the fact that the National Salvation Front Council and the new government are led by former Communists. In short, they claim that the Front is one of the RCP's new disguises.

[Brucan] That is ridiculous. The RCP has played no role in this revolution. In the other East European countries, the change was the fruit of reformist initiatives within the apparatus or of internal struggles sparked off by pressure from the people. But in Romania, it was not like that. The party was the Ceausescu system and vice versa. The people's uprising swept away the party at the same time as the dictatorship. It is absent from the Front and the revolutionary process, and we intend to ensure that it remains absent. The RCP was destroyed politically and ideologically with the Ceausescu dictatorship: It has become a positive witness. That is the end of its story.

[Marion] Perhaps, but is it not former Communists who are now in charge?

[Brucan] I repeat, the Communist Party, all communist parties, have been politically discredited because they placed at their head criminals and psychopaths—people like Ceausescu, Pol Pot, Mao, and Stalin. They no longer have any future. For various social reasons, they can only exist in the developed social countries [as published].

[Marion] Is this view shared by the other members of the Front who are, like you, former Communists?

[Brucan] Yes, largely. It is true that we were Communists, that we also lived within the system, but at some time we opposed him, we opposed Ceausescu. Do you know why Iliescu was ousted? At the time he was minister for water. He produced a report on the country's disastrous ecological situation. He shouldered his responsibilities and he was immediately ousted. All the Romanians know that Iliescu was an unswerving opponent of Ceausescu and his policy. Those who never did anything against Ceausescu are in no position to criticize us for having been Communists.

[Marion] But surely they did not put Ceausescu in power?

[Brucan] That is true, but who knows how a politician will develop, who can guarantee that he will not become a tyrant or a criminal? The problem is not to know who is in the saddle but to oppose him and few Romanians did that.

[Marion] Once more, why does your government contain so many Communists?

[Brucan] The government has not yet been fully formed. Once it is complete, you will see that far from all the ministers belong to the same family. Andrei Plesu has just been appointed the new culture minister. He is a self-confessed anticommunist.

[Marion] The Front's Council appoints the ministers, but who appointed the Council?

[Brucan] That was done spontaneously in the revolution which was itself spontaneous. We are a left-wing political organization; a left-wing organization and not a party. The Front's Council currently has 39 members, but it will soon be expanded to 150 people. All the country's Judets will be represented in it.

[Marion] Will the Front take part in the election campaign?

[Brucan] We will put forward candidates everywhere. The Front will vote but we will leave power to the government which emerges from a parliamentary majority. The power will rest with the government alone. There will also be a Supreme Court which will have the task of guaranteeing the independence of the legal system. All parties will be able to participate in the elections, including the Communist Party, if one still exists. At all events, I do not think it will obtain five percent of the votes.

[Marion] The way in which Ceausescu was tried and executed has been severely criticized throughout the world. Have you not made a political mistake?

[Brucan] It was a matter of life and death. Iliescu, Mazilu, Roman, and I were at the defense ministry from the start and we remained there until Ceausescu's execution. The situation was critical, but Ceausescu and his wife had fled in a helicopter which landed at Tirgoviste, northwest of Bucharest. From there they were to go by car to Boteni military airport where a plane was waiting to take them to a North African country.

[Marion] To Libya?

[Brucan] Nobody knows exactly, but it is probable. When the helicopter landed, the peasants and local militia surrounded it and arrested the couple. The pilot of the plane, which was waiting, warned his friends in the Securitate that his passengers had not reached the airport. That was how they knew that Ceausescu was being detained in Tirgoviste. They then attacked the garrison. When we were told that the attack was serious, we decided to put an end to it very quickly. If the Securitate had freed them, Romania would have suffered a bloodbath, a terrible civil war. We had no choice. We were not sure that the Army would be capable of withstanding the attack.

[Marion] Who decided on the trial and when?

[Brucan] The decision was made on 24 December, in the evening, by the Front's Executive Bureau, a body which comprises 11 members, and by the military. The trial took place on 25 December in the morning. They were executed at noon.

[Marion] Who are the members of that Executive Bureau?

[Brucan] Iliescu, Mazilu, Roman, and myself, in addition to a few others whose names are not being revealed for security reasons. They are young students who were with us in the defense ministry.

[Marion] Did you not overestimate your enemies' strength? Were they really capable of freeing Ceausescu?

[Brucan] You do not know what those people were like—all true professionals, well trained, well equipped with modern U.S. equipment and not old Kalashnikovs like our soldiers. They had guns with infrared telescopic sights. I saw with my own eyes 12 soldiers killed outside the Central Committee headquarters at night, with bullets in the heart. During those days we only traveled in armored vehicles and each time we did travel our vehicle was fired at. They knew that we were inside. They were everywhere.

[Marion] How many of them were fighting you?

[Brucan] Between 50,000 and 60,000 men, scattered throughout Romania and of a much higher caliber than our troops. After Ceausescu's execution, most surrendered. They were disarmed and placed in the regular army. They had to be given hope of a new life and not pushed into a corner. It is when people are desperate that they can become dangerous. The Securitate generals will be tried, not the regular forces.

[Marion] When and by whom?

[Brucan] By the extraordinary military tribunal which has just been set up. We have time for the trial. They are no longer dangerous and we are not being pushed into a corner by them as we were by the other two. The military situation is now stable. Only a few guns with telescopic sights in the hands of a few fanatics are now threatening us. They now only have one goal: To try to decapitate the movement by assassinating us. That is why we no longer leave this building. Our decision to execute the Ceausescus was right, not only because the enemy subsequently stopped fighting but also because our people had a profound desire for this execution, and we knew it.

In politics, that is what counts. Between the people's support and the reservations expressed abroad, our choice was quickly made. Do you know that the 120 soldiers guarding Ceausescu and his wife all volunteered for the execution? And then, I repeat, there was a danger of them being freed. We could not risk that. Those who do not take account of these facts are dreamers.

[Marion] Are you sure of the Army?

[Brucan] We have always been sure of the Army but not of all the generals. Some have since been removed. They did not show the firmness which could be expected of them at the critical time when the outcome of the battle was uncertain.

[Marion] Will they be tried?

[Brucan] In general, we will only try those who are self-confessed criminals or those who had decisive responsibilities. We do not want to create a situation of revenge in the country, or to call everybody to account. The Ceausescu regime exerted strong pressure on all of us and you cannot expect everybody to be courageous all the time. It is true that there is a desire for vengeance, but it must be resisted. Moreover, I think that this desire applied mainly to Ceausescu. Those millions of dollars deposited in Swiss banks when people were dying of hunger and cold.... That was what made the greatest impression.

[Marion] Have you proof of that misappropriation?

[Brucan] Switzerland itself has just assured us that it would return the money deposited in its territory. Marin, Nicolae Ceausescu's brother, had been head of the Romanian trade mission in Vienna for 15 years. He made the deposits in Swiss banks. He is dead. As for Ceausescu's three children, they had savings accounts each containing 1.5 million lei, whereas the annual salary of a worker is between 2,500 and 3,000 lei. Every year, Elena Ceausescu deposited 50,000 lei in the account of each of her children as a gift. That was robbery.

[Marion] There was talk of foreign fighters alongside the Securitate. What are the facts?

[Brucan] It is better to be cautious about that. What is true is that there are students from Arab countries in Romania and many of them were trained in a special Securitate camp, the one commanded by one of the dictator's brothers. There they trained in guerrilla warfare and terrorist tactics.

[Marion] Will you send the Arab students home?

[Brucan] That is a delicate question. It has diplomatic implications which we must discuss.

[Marion] Did General Milea commit suicide?

[Brucan] He was assassinated when he told Ceausescu that he refused to allow the Army to be used against the demonstrators....

[Marion] But surely the Army had already fired on the crowd?

[Brucan] Yes, in Timisoara, but not in Bucharest. There are two versions of Milea's assassination. According to one, it was Ceausescu himself who killed him, according to the other, it was two of his bodyguards. We are still investigating the matter. Whatever the facts, Gen Milea will soon be given a national funeral and will be posthumously decorated.

[Marion] Georges Marchais, French Communist Party [PCF] secretary general, is being violently attacked in France for his relationship with the former dictator.

[Brucan] Georges Marchais? He has destroyed the PCF. It is true that he timidly criticized Ceausescu. L'HUMANITE was more vigorous.

Statement by National Economy Minister

AU2912232889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2058 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The obsession with a high rate of accumulation was behind the distortions in the economy and this is something which should come to a halt, said Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, minister of the national economy, in a statement to the free Romanian television.

The key target of the new ministry, he said, is the coordination of the national economy according to a modern system, while removing the barriers posed by the old bodies which formulated tasks whose fulfilment was possible only in the minds of those who formulated them, as figures lacked a real basis. It was a lack of realism that should be corrected now.

The real state of the economy will be assessed, to set the base for future action. Targets will be set with the agreement of both economic units and the bodies in the composition of the government; initiative on all economic levels and bona-fide individuals with ideas being encouraged.

The situation of raw materials will be reassessed and imports of deficit ones will improve.

According to the economy minister, ranking prominent in the economy will be the people's standard of living and immediate needs, something the old regime had ignored altogether.

NSF Member Diescu on Ceausescu Execution

PM0201114890 Paris LIBERATION in French 28 Dec 89 p 5

[Interview with Mircea Dinescu, dissident poet and member of the Romanian National Salvation Front, by Gilles Schiller in Bucharest—date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted]

[LIBERATION] What do you think of the Ceausescus' execution?

[Dinescu] Many people think that they were executed rather hastily and that a long trial would have brought out even more serious crimes from the coffers of the former regime which are packed with atrocities. That is true. But let us not forget that a real revolution has taken place in Romania. A dead dictator is more useful than a living dictator. The bodies of the dictators can no longer provide fuel for the terrorist factory which was functioning on Romanian territory. I think that the architectural monstrosity known as the House of the Republic should be turned into a museum of dictatorship in which all the world's dictators should be placed, either stuffed or in the form of ashes in a jar, so that they can be contemplated and studied. I appeal to all countries which still have examples of such dictators to wrap them up and send them to us as a matter of urgency.

[LIBERATION] Now that tghe fighting has now died down can Romania's democratic future be envisaged?

[Dinescu] As I have already said, the Romanians were sick with fear in the first few mintues which followed the occupation of the television station. And they are now sick with courage. We must not go into convalescence. Let us maintain this divinely inspired sickness. It is our only chance of breathing at the same rate as Europe.

[LIBERATION] Who holds power at present?

[Dinescu] The secret weapon which overthrew the dictator is still to be found in the hands of the young people. Both the Army and the National Salvation Front are supported by the reaction and emotion of this formidable energy. Those who are not really with the young people cannot hold power in Romania.

[LIBERATION] On radio, television, and in the newspapers, there is a new kind of officialese. What do you think of it?

[Dinescu] Many institutions not only use officialese but are full of blockheads. The selection of idiots has been used in Romania for 20 years. The magnetic attraction by which one imbecile attracts another was the basic principle of this society. Anybody who wanted to get ahead had to pretend to be stupid. This family tree of stupidity will have its fruit shaken off as soon as possible. The poplar tree with pears on it outside the students' residence shows that miracles are possible in Romania. The danger which still exists is that bastards will now turn into good guys.

[LIBERATION] What are the other threats?

[Dinescu] Lack of competence was the main fault in this system. There is now competition, a kind of "victim's olympics" at the national level: All those who suffered under the former regime are now aiming at high office and want to take as prominent a place as possible. However, many were collaborators who were ousted for one reason or another. But, in Romania, millions of people have suffered professionally, morally, and materially. I do not think that this is the right time to display our wounds like beggars in front of the cathedral doors. Suffering does not necessarily produce competence.

[LIBERATION] What do you think of the National Salvation Front, of which you are a member?

[Dinescu] Amid the excitement of the events, the Front was formed very quickly. I cannot guarantee the efficiency, competence, and morality of all its members. In any event, it is provisional. We will have time to find out about each other. For the time being, the Front's members are merely pedestrians swept by the whirlwind of history from the sidewalk to the parliament.

[LIBERATION] However, one person, Ion Iliescu, seems to be making his mark.

Mircea Dinescu: A fictional biography about him would be as follows: He became a political figure and leader at the age of 30; he had the good fortune and courage to fall from the party's paradise to earth in the seventies. His opposition to the cultural revolution imported from China by Ceausescu saved him from being compromised. Living for 20 years in a modest little publishing house among intellectuals and printers, with a sword of Damocles hanging over his head, is a purifying exercise which is highlighted even more by his personal charm. However, in the Romanian press, a president should no longer be praised, but only criticized if necessary. Intelligence, generosity, and competence are vital qualities for a leader and should be displayed in the press. Let us spare him the guns which are trained on him from the shadows but not the journalists' constant fire.

[LIBERATION] Are you happy? Do you intend to continue with politics?

[Dinescu] Happiness is not my profession. I do not hope to change from professional writer to amateur politician. My wife advised me to accept only one portfolio in the government: minister of opposition. In view of the fact that that ministry does not exist, I will create it in the privacy of my home.

Television Interview With Foreign Minister Celac

AU2912232389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2230 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—In an interview he granted to the free Romanian Television in the evening of 29 December, Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac showed that the Romanian revolution opened new avenues to the foreign policy as well.

Referring to the international reverberation of the revolutonary events in Romania, the foreign minister pointed out that the sympathy, moral and material solidarity of the international community proved the interest taken in the new Romania which is now being created—in the fast democratic and progressive evolution—and indicates the fact that confidence is shown in the National Salvation Front's ability to put this process along an altogether new, realistic, responsible course.

Gen Militaru Speaks on Formation of NSF

AU0201175790 Paris AFP in English 1731 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 2 (AFP)—Romania's National Salvation Front in power since the ouster of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu has existed for six months, Defence Minister General Nicolae Militaru has told a meeting of the country's new leadership.

A video film of the first gathering of most civilian and military National Salvation Front leaders at the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters on December 22 was screened for an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent Tuesday.

On Monday Prime Minister Petre Roman rejected as "speculation" comments on the video film alleging that Mr. Ceausescu's ouster had been prepared for several weeks.

"The revolution was an uprising by an entire people against dictatorship. Nothing was organized beforehand," he said in an interview for the French FR3 television network.

According to the video film seen by the AFP correspondent, the meeting was attended by Front leader Ion Iliescu, its deputy Dimitru Mazilu and Silviu Brucan, chairman of the Front's working committee for foreign policy.

"The National Salvation Front has existed for six months," Gen. Militaru was heard saying at the meeting as participants were arguing over the name of the country's paramount political body.

Democratic Front and National Democratic Committee were other suggested names for the new panel.

The debate was ended by Gen. Militaru's remark.

Mr. Iliescu was shown in the tape saying: "I contacted the Soviet Embassy and told them about the situation so they can tell Moscow who we are and what we want."

His remark appears to demolish suggestions that the Ceausescu's ouster was orchestrated by the Kremlin.

In November, dissident party members addressed an open letter to then President Ceausescu calling on him to step down as leader "before others take the initiative."

The letter, released by the League for the Defence of Human Rights in Romania, was said to come from a National Salvation Front, a group of unidentified party members who issued an appeal for Mr. Ceausescu's dismissal in September.

Biographical Data on New Romanian Leaders

AU2912191489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/12/1989—Ion Iliescu—president of the National Salvation Front Council of Romania:

He was born in Oltenita (a Danubian port town in Southern Romania), on March 3, 1930. He is a hydropower engineer. Latest workplace: director of the Technical Publishing House. He is married.

Dumitru Mazilu—first vice-president of the National Salvational Front Council:

He was born in Bacau on June 24, 1934. He is a doctor of law and a professor. In the last two years he had no job and was placed under interdiction by Ceausescu's authorities. He is a United Nations reporter on human rights and youth. He is married and the father of one.

Petre Roman—prime minister of Romania:

He was born in Bucharest on July 22, 1946. He was head of the Hydraulics Department of the Hydrotechnics Faculty of the Bucharest Polytechnic. He is married and has two children.

Sergiu Celac—minister of foreign affairs:

He was born in Bucharest on May 26, 1939. He graduated from the philology Faculty of the University of Bucharest. Last work-place: the Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House, as an editor. He is married.

Interim Government Receives Diplomatic Delegations

Hungarian Foreign Minister Received

AU2912192489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, received on Friday Gyula Horn, foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic.

The sides informed each others of current political and socioeconomic issues in the two countries and approached aspects related to the Romanian-Hungarian relations and the international life.

The interview was attended by Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, Karol Kiraly, vice-president of the National Salvation Front Council, and other Romanian and Hungarian officials.

After the interview, during a brief meeting with Romanian and foreign journalists, Ion Iliescu assessed his talk with the Hungarian foreign minister as possitive, showing objective conditions were in place for the development of relations between Romania and Hungary, for the elimination of the tension between the two countries and peoples that was artificially created in previous years.

Horn on Future Collaboration

AU3112070189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1348 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Gyula Horn: "I think there are very goopd bases for growing Romanian-Hungarian collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—In a statement he made exclusively with the Romanian newspaper "ADEVARUL" during his recent visit to Bucharest, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said, while referring to the perspectives of the Romanian-Hungarian relations after being freed from the tension artificially created by the former dictatorial regime in Romania: We fully agree to what the Council of the National Salvation Front stated, namely that new bases have been created for the development of our ties. A guarantee is the building of a democratic Romania, the prerequisites of which have been set by the revolution itself. I am convinced that a democratic Romania will provide the possibility for the elaboration of all the country's inhabitants, including the population of Hungarian extraction.

During the talks we conducted, the speaker further said, we have had a useful experience, and I could notice that the new leadership of Romania had an open position. I think precisely, therefore, we can take the due steps toward a general statement of our relations. To this end we set up an experts commission to dwell on all matters.

Highly important for the attainment of this goal is the existence of a very fine basis for the growth of the Romanian-Hungarian collaboration. The Hungarian people's solidarity these days was shown not only for the population of Hungarian extraction in Romania, but also for the whole Romanian people. This fact has a great significance proving that Ceausescu's policy, which aimed at sowing hate-mongering, has no base within the masses being unanimously condemned and rejected.

In conclusion, I would like to express my optimism as regards the future of our countries' relations and to wish full success to the Romanian people in accomplishing its revolution.

GDR Ambassador Received

AU2912192689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—On December 29 Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, received the ambassador of the German Democratic Republic in Bucharest, Herbert Plaschke.

The interview was an occasion to reiterate the wish of Romania and of the German Democratic Republic to expand bilateral links in line with the renewing processes under way in the two countries.

Roman Praises GDR Support

LD3112184989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1821 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—The prime minister of Romania, Petre Roman, has paid tribute to the extensive material and spiritual support of the GDR population for the Romanian people. In a conversation with GDR Ambassador Herbert Plaschke, the two men affirmed the determination of their states to reshape relations for the benefit of their peoples.

Polish Official Received

AU3112190089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1629 GMT 31 Dec 89

["Call on Romanian Prime Minister"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/12/1989—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received in the morning of December 31 the delegation of the Ministry of Health and Social Security of the Polish Republic, headed by Jerzy Wojtczak, deputy minister, now visiting Romania.

The members of the delegation reiterated the Polish people's solidarity and support to the revolution in Romania, stressing that they were expressed also in the humanitarian aid given the Romanian people by all organizations in Poland.

It was assessed during the talk that the renewing processes proceeding in the two countries ensured a fine base, opened wide prospects for the Romanian-Polish collaboration in all domains.

Libyan Delegation Received

LD2912181589 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] The first vice chairman of the People's Committee for National Salvation in Romania, Dumitru Mazilu, this morning received the Libyan Arab people's delegation at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The delegation arrived last night to present the emergency aid from the Libyan Arab people to the Romanian people.

Celac Receives Ambassadors

AU3112065889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2039 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Calls on Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—Satudary 30 December, Romanian foreign minister, Sergiu Celac, received Egypt's ambassador in Bucharest, Sa'd Abu al-Khayr, who said the Egyptian Government was sure that the friendship and cooperation between Egypt and Romania would further strengthen.

On the same day, Sergiu Celac received the ambassador of the State of Israel, Zvi Mazel, who conveyed the Israeli Government's willingness to continue the friendly and cooperative relations with the Romanian people and its new leadership. A number of bilateral questions were also covered.

Also on 30 December, the Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac received Coenraad Frederik Stork, the Dutch ambassador in Bucharest. They discussed bilateral relations.

Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac received on 30 December Berta Braun, Austria's ambassador in Bucharest. They discussed the future growth of the bilateral relationship.

Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac received on 30 December Alia Kastli, ambassador of the Tunisian Republic in Bucharest.

The Tunisian Ambassador conveyed the sympathy, solidarity and support of Tunisia's leadership for the popular revolution in Romania that overthrew the hideous Ceausescu dictatorship, as well as his country's wish further to develop friendship and the bilateral cooperation.

The development prospects of Romania's relations with the Arab Countries in general were also outlined.

Sergiu Celac, the Romanian foreign minister, received on 30 December George Linardos, Greece's ambassador in Bucharest, in an audience during which the bilateral relations were discussed.

Messages of Greetings, Recognition for NSF

From Moscow Cultural Association

AU0101154890 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1431 GMT 1 Jan 90

["Letter"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/1/1990—The management board of the cultural association "Moldova" in Moscow with more than 300 members, most of them born in Bassarabia and Bukovina, adopted a text to the Romanian people which reads inter alia: "We wholeheartedly hail the triumph of the democratic popular revolution of 22 December 1989 in Romania and express our boundless joy that our people overthrew the dictatorship of Ceausescu's clique. The Romanian people have once again proved that they were and are faithful to democratic principles, that freedom has been one of their sacred ideals for which they have fought and vanquished. We bend our heads in the memory of the many, mostly for the young ones, who sacrificed their lives for the cause of the revolution, for the dignified and luminous future of Romania's children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. On the new year's eve we wholeheartedly wish all the Romanian people quiet, prosperity, understanding and peace, health, joy and happiness. A happy new year to the people of free Romania".

The management board of "Moldova" cultura association of Moscow started a campaign of raising funds to aid the victims of Ceausescu's dictatorial regime.

Message From Bulgaria's Mladenov

AU0101171690 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1615 GMT 1 Jan 90

["Ion Iliescu and Petar Mladenov Talk on the Phone"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/01/1990—On 31 December 1989, the president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Petar Mladenov, had a telephone conversation with the president of the National Salvation Front Council, Ion Iliescu.

Petar Mladenov expressed the joy with which all Bulgarian people welcomed the Romanian people's victory and their determination to support the efforts for the country's reconstruction. Likewise, he expressed the belief that, under the new circumstances, the friendly links between the two countries would get even stronger.

Ion Iliescu thanked for the solidarity shown and the support granted to the Romanian people. He also highlighted that the relations between Romania and Bulgaria, between the two peoples, that are deeply rooted in history, would witness a fruitful development in all areas.

Ion Iliescu and Petar Mladenov agreed that a member of the Bulgarian Government pay a visit to Bucharest early in January 1990, to have talks on questions related to mutually advantageous bilateral cooperation.

At the end of the talk Ion Iliescu and Petar Mladenov expressed wishes of success for the two neighbour friendly people on the occasion of the new year.

Telegram From Polish Leaders

LD2912015989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0133 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/12/1989—The telegram addressed to Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, by the president of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski, reads:

Aware of the responsibility and tasks the Council of the National Salvation Front has to assume, I am conveying to you best wishes for the benefit settlement of the difficult issues facing Romania.

The telegram conveys most cordial greetings to the fraternal Romanian people, sorrow in connection with the tragic events that caused tremendous loss and suffering, expresses solidarity with the Romanian people in its aspiration after building a new life in a free, democratic and fair homeland. Assurances are given that the authorities in the Polish People's Republic are firmly for friendly and constructive collaboration, in the interest of the two states and peoples.

Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman was conveyed a congratulatory telegram by the prime minister of the Polish People's Republic, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on his appointment to office. From the very first moments after the setting up of the National Salvation Front, the telegram reads, the Polish Government got in touch with it, recognized Romania's new authorities, sustains their program and expresses its readiness for close collaboration to our people's benefit. The Polish premier expresses the confidence that the new government, taking advantage of the support from the large social forces, will manage to remove Romania's current most grave situation and ensure its favourable development in conditions of true freedom and democracy.

Message From Arab League

AU3012225289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2101 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] The Arab League general secretary, in a message of congratulations to the new Romanian officials, expressed the hope that Romanian-Arab relations will continue to develop for the benefit of both parties concerned. The message indicates that relations of fruitful cooperation between Romania and the Arab world cannot afford to be affected by the tendentious rumours circulated in the past few days by certain circles desirous of harming the Romanian and Arab people.

Recognition From DPRK, Others

AU2912180189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 29 Dec 89

["The Whole World Recognizes the New Regime in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, the president of the DPR of Korea, Kim Il-song, and the premier of the Administration Council of the DPR of Korea, Yon Hyong-muk, sent congratulatory telegrams to Ion Iliescu, president of Romania's National Salvation Front Council, and to Prime Minister Petre Roman on their having been elected to their offices.

The president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Vo Chi Cong, and the chairman of that country's Council of Ministers, Do Muoi, sent telegrams of congratulations to the National Salvation Front Council president Ion Iliescu and to Romania's new Prime Minister Petre Roman, on their having been elected to the respective offices. The telegrams express the wish to strengthen and develop the Romanian-Vietnamese friendship.

Thailand decided to recognize Romania's newly-created government. A statement by foreign minister Sitthi Sawetsila shows that Thailand looks into possibilities to send food and medicines to aid Romania.

The West German Government express their hope in Romania's rapid passage to the situation of a state de jure. Bonn expects the new government to institute the right to equality as soon possible, the government spokesman, Dieter Vogel, said.

Romania requests that an item on the granting of emergency humanitarian aid to Romania should be included in the agenda of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly, a letter sent to UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar by Romania's representative to the United Nations shows.

The Government of the Republic of San Marino officially announced to recognize Romania's provisional government and express the wish to better collaborate with Romania on an international plane, a communique of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs shows.

The campaign continues in the Moldavian SSR to aid the Romanian people. Besides the 47 cars of foodstuffs, medicines and other goods already sent to Romania, another eight cars are ready to start off to this country.

The ambassador of the Hungarian Republic in Bucharest, Pal Szuts, said his country's foreign minister Gyula Horn was ready for a visit to Romania's capital city for talks on the development of mutually advantageous links between the two countries.

Taking the floor in the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament, Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli said Italy's ambassador in Bucharest was requested to establish official contact with the National Salvation Front Council to express the support and solidarity of the Italian Government and people with the Romanian people, to set forth the political initiatives and steps taken to send urgent aid to Romania.

The Egyptian foreign minister made a statement congratulating the National Salvation Front which overtook power after the people's revolution. Egypt, the statement shows, hopes the friendly ties between the Romanian and Egyptian peoples will continue under the new government, too.

Venezuela recognized the new Romanian Government of the National Salvation Front. The Venezuelan Government attentively followed developments in Romania and now expresses its solidarity with the just cause of the Romanian people who now fight for the normalization of the situation, a communique by the Venezuelan Foreign Ministry shows.

The Communist Party of Greece welcomes the revolution of the Romanian people that overthrew Ceausescu's dictatorial regime, a statement of the political bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the party shows. The document reads that the Communist Party of Greece supports the efforts for the normalization of the situation in Romania and expresses its solidarity with the Romanian people.

Further Recognition From Abroad

AU3012191889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1217 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Further Recognition of the National Salvation Front Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—A message of support from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent to Ion Iliescu, the president of the National Salvation Front Council, praises the Romanian people's extraordinary courage.

Japan has recognized the Council of the National Salvation Front and its leader Ion Iliescu through a decision adopted during a special session of the Japanese Government.

The government of Denmark like the governments of all the northern countries recognizes the new government of Romania, Prime Minister Poul Schlweter announced during a meeting of the Danish Parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs. In an interview with the Danish News Agency, he conveyed to the new Romanian Government the best wishes in solving the multifarious and difficult tasks it has to fulfill.

Iran's government backs the Romanian people's peaceful ideals, showed Iranian foreign minister in a statement released at the United Nations.

A communique of the Luxembourg Government shows it rejoices at the overthrow of the dictatorship in Romania, an outcome of the Romanian people's courage and determination.

The Greek Prime Minister Xenophon Zolozas welcomed the overthrow of Ceausescu's dictatorship, stating that a tyrant believed he could ignore historical events and hold absolute power.

In an interview with L'HUMANITE, French Communist Party Secretary-General Georges Marchais stated, while referring to the events in Romania, that its destiny depends on the Romanian people. If the new way chosen by Bucharest is that of democracy, pluralism, socalism in conditions of liberty is the exclusive problem of the Romanian people, he said.

The "Solidarity" Press Bureau sent a statement made by Lech Walesa on the events in Romania expressing his grief for the bloodshed price the Romanian people had to pay for its liberation from Ceausescu's inhumane dictatorship.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization published in Cairo a statement in favour of the democratic changes taking place in East Europe, firmly condemning the crimes committed in Romania by the terrorist forces faithful to the former dictatorial regime.

The Yugoslav Trade Unions Federation published an appeal expressing its full solidarity with the Romanian people's courageous fight.

The leadership of the Bulgarian-Romanian Friendship Association and its president academician Sava Ganovski sent a telegram to the Romanian Embassy in Sofia whereby they welcome the victory of the people's revolution in Romania and congratulated the Council of the National Salvation Front that they recognize as the sole representative and exponent of the Romanian people's will and interests.

In a message addressed to the Romanian Embassy in Budapest, the Democratic Union of Romanians in Hungary expresses satisfaction at the democratic changes in Romania, at the collapse of the odious Ceausescu regime, and assures that the Romanian nationality in Hungary will further contribute at strengthening the friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

The Romanian Orthodox Community in Torino and Piemonte addressed a message of solidarity with the fight of the Romanian people that is the maker of free Romania.

All these statements, telegrams and messages specify that the Romanian people will be granted humanitarian and material aids to help it normalize life as soon as possible.

More Recognition

AU3112072589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2028 GMT 30 Dec 89

["More Governments, Organizations and Personalities Recognize the Democratic Revolution—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—More Governments, political and diplomatic personalities, and foreign organisms recognise Romania's Council of the National Salvation Front, and state their solidarity with the Romanian Democratic revolution.

The Lao people support the Romanian people's courageous fight, stresses the Lao Government in a telegram to the Council of Romania's National Salvation Front.

The West German foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, showed that West Germany would take action within the EEC to get aid for Romania so that it may overcome the present difficulties.

We trust our borders with the new democratic Romania will unite, not separate us, all the much more so as the Yugoslav border is already open and Romania's is due to be" said Yugoslavia's Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ilija Djukic on his return from Romania. During the talks in Bucharest, the special Yugoslav envoy showed, the changes in Romania were said to have opened "the windows and the doors" to a many-sided development of the bilateral relationship.

In telegrams sent to Ion Iliescu, Petre Roman and Dumitru Mazilu, the secretary-general of the Arab League, Chedli Klibi, wished them success in the fulfilment of their tasks and the Romanian people progress and development. He also expressed his firm confidence in the Romanians' courage, wisdom and capacity to overcome the present difficulties and fulfil its aspirations.

The president of the French National Assembly, Laurent Fabius, and the chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission, Michel Vauzelle, want to convey in their upcoming visit to Bucharest (2-3 January) the French Parliament's support to the Democratic Revolution in Romania.

The Romanians in Hungary, a telegram of the Presidium of the Democratic Federation of the Romanians in Hungary says, honour with respect and admiration but also with great sadness the memory of the Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities who gave their lives and proved the historic importance of brotherhood, the memory of those people who showed the neighbourly peoples the road to new contacts built on mutual respect.

The Soviet-Romanian friendship association re-states its firm support for the Romanian people's fight to safeguard its own homeland, to achieve democratic changes in Romanian society, the association says in a statement issued in Moscow and taken up by TASS.

The government of Lebanon has recognised Romania's National Salvation Front and decided to fully support it.

Prime Minister Roman Thanks France for Support

LD3112200189 Paris Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on prospects for East Europe in 1990] Events in Romania have given rise to a huge surge of solidarity in France with the Romanian people these past few days. A few hours away from the New Year, new Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman addressed greetings to his compatriots, and also to the French people. He thanked them for their generosity. Here is Petre Roman, recorded by Renaud Fesaguet, our special correspondent in Bucharest.

[Begin Roman recording, in French] First of all I would like to express my gratitude to those who have shown their support for our revolution. By saying the phrase 'those who,' I mean practically all of France. We have received messages of sympathy from everywhere—from President Mitterrand, of course, from the prime minister, from all the French organizations and politicians, and a very large amount of aid has arrived and continues to do so.

My wish is to renew our traditional relations with France. When I say traditions, I refer to real traditions—humanistic, cultural and spiritual ones. There has always been a spiritual current running between France and Romania, and we have every reason to believe this current should run again.

I wish you prosperity, a Happy New Year, and may we always see each other in conditions of democracy and liberty. [end recording]

Mitterrand-Iliescu, Roman Telephone Talk Reported

AU0101224890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2200 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] On Monday, 1 January, French President Francois Mitterrand held a telephone conversation with the president of the Council of National Salavation Front and with Prime Minister Petre Roman. The French president firmly emphasized the solidarity with which he personally, as well as the French public opinion, followed the events in Romania and the difficult struggle of the Romanian people for freedom and democracy. He expressed his determination that, as of now, normal relations should be created between the two countries by increasing and raising the level of contacts between the two governments and also expressed France's willingness to grant the necessary assistance to Romania. Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman expressed their thanks for the feelings expressed by the French president and noted expressed belief that now, under the new conditions, the relations between the two countries and peoples, which are bound by a longstanding friendship, will proceed to a new and fruitful development.

At the beginning of the new year, the sides conveyed each other best wishes for the two friendly countries and people.

Iliescu Speaks on Relations With France

AU0201172490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] This afternoon, Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]; First Vice President Dumitru Mazilu; Prime Minister Petre Roman; and Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac met with a French parliamentary delegation led by Laurent Fabius, chairman of the French National Assembly.

[Begin recording] [Announcer Teoharie Coca Cosma] Shortly after the end of the meeting and talks, let us ask Mr. Ion Iliescu to make a statement for Romanian Free Radio.

[Iliescu] As you know, Mr Fabius, chairman of the French National Assembly, accompanied by the chairman of that assembly's foreign affairs committee, was received by the leadership of the front. First Vice President Mazilu, the chief of government, and the foreign minister were also present at this meeting. It is one more expression of the interest shown from the start by France for our revolution and our current activities. This interest was also expressed by the telephone conversation I had with the French president, by the presence in our country from the first days of a French Secretary of State, as well as by the planned visit of Foreign Affairs Minister Roland Dumas. The chairman of the National Assembly emphasized this interest of France, he expressed the desire to enhance the cooperation between the two countries under the newly created conditions, and he referred to the aid that France is ready to grant Romania to overcome its current difficulties. I thanked him for this interest, for the sentiments of solidarity, [words indistinct] for the concrete aid granted thus far, and for the readiness to lay the foundation for a new, real, and healthy cooperation between the two countries. I thanked the French leadership and people for this act of friendship and solidarity.

[Cosma] Thank you. At our request, Mr Laurent Fabius, chairman of the French National Assembly, said:

[Laurent Fabius, in French] We have just had talks with the Chairman of the Council, with the Prime Minister and with other high officials. The meeting progressed very well and dealt with the ways and means of relations between Romania and France and expressed to your president the full solidarity of the French people with the Romanian people. We followed everything that happened here in the past few days very keenly, with friendship and sometimes passionately; we suffered and rejoiced together with you. There is now a great deal to be done and France stands by Romania in order to contribute to its fulfillment. Thank you. [end recording]

France's Dumas To Visit 'First Part of January'

AU0301090390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] On behalf of the Romanian Government, Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac has invited French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas to pay an official visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted and the visit will take place in the first half of January.

Gen Milea's Funeral Held 30 Dec

AU3012220389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2116 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Army General Vasile Milea's Funeral"— AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—The late Minister of National Defence Vasile Milea, posthumously promoted army general, the hero who refused to order the Army to open fire on the masses of people who had risen against tyranny, was buried in the graveyard of his native commune of Leresti, Arges County, Saturday 30 December.

A traditional Oorthodox religious service was held by a group of priests at the commune's church.

Attending the ceremony were the family, generals, high-ranking officers, officers and nco's representing all armed services, the chairmen of the National Salvation Front's Arges County Committee, Pitesti City Committee, the town of Cimpulung-Muscel and the commune of Leresti, local people.

The patriotic attitude of Gen. Vasile Milea and its importance for the Romanian people's victory over the Ceausescu dictatorship, his life and dedication to the noble cause of the Romanian people were referred to by speakers in moving words.

A military guard presented arms.

A three-gun salute was fired to honour the hero.

A mourning march was played as well as the well-known "Awaken, Romanian".

The coffin was lowered into a crypt in the church graveyard.

Wreaths were laid at his tomb.

More on Milea's Funeral

AU2912233089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1913 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The funeral of Vasile Milea, former minister of national defense, postmoretem Army General, was held in Bucharest on 29 December.

Speaking in behalf of the Army, Colonel-General Hortopan Ion paid a pious homage to "the one who was and will remain in the conscience of the Romanian Army as postmortem Army General Vasile Milea, killed by Ceausescu's dictatorial clique at a crucial moment, when the liberty of the Romanian nation was decided in Palace Square of Bucharest".

He showed that General Milea stood out as a prominent and competent officer, inspired by the ardent wish to make his duty to the country most faithfully, preocuppied to strengthen and improve the Romanian Army, to raise its combat capacity despite the technical and material obstacles and restrictions imposed by the dictatorship.

Colonel Corneliu Birladescu spoke in behalf of the patriotic guards. He said inter alia: on behalf of the General staffs of the patriotic guards, from amid whom General Milea gave the Army the order not to fire at the masses, we pay him a last and respectful tribute of high appreciation and profound admiration for having courageously and staunchly stood his ground against the dictator, who declared him a traitor unjustly because he did not want to stifle, to repress the revolution in blood.

Dumitru Mazilu, first vice-president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, paid an ardent tribute to the Romanian revolution on behalf of the Council. It is a tribute to the one who, when he received the loathsome order to fire at the Army, said "I am also the Army. Hence I shot the Army". And he shot himself. Vasile Milea is the symbol of the Romanian revolution, marking a turning point which changed the course of events and helped us emerge victorious. There was and there will be no contradictions between the Army and the people.

The Army and the people work in unity. We shall always work together. When General Milea did the gesture we all know about and acknowledge today, the people said "the Army is on our side". The whole country chanted these words. These words will go down in the people's history, because the people and the Army made the revolution triumph.

Romanian defense ministry, Army General Nicolae Militaru spoke in behalf of the entire Romanian Army and paid tribute to Vasile Milea, postmortem army general and showed that hero Vasile Milea fell victim to the tyrant on the first day of the Romanian people's true liberty and democracy.

Israel Reportedly Paid Regime To Allow Emigres

AU2912141689 Paris AFP in English 1209 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Jerusalem, Dec 29 (AFP)—Israel and Jewish organisations paid 60 million dollars to the regime of executed Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu over the last decade to allow Jews to emigrate to Israel, a newspaper reported Friday.

Some 15,000 Jews arrived in Israel from Romania over the last 10 years, YEDI'OT AHARONOT daily said. Some 20,000 others still live in Romania.

A source close to the World Zionist Organisation here confirmed that the Ceausescu regime was paid to allow Romanian Jews to emigrate and to provide transit facilities for immigrants from the Soviet Union.

Ceausescu's Neptun Summer Residence Revealed

AU2912165989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1605 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/12/1989—The summer retreat at Neptun was an exclusive area of "their presidential excellencies". Not even foreign guests, no matter how high their level was, were allowed into the several scores of hectares which were "used" by the Ceausescus. The retreat is comprised of a few buildings that ordinary mortals could not see, where only servants and a few "intimates" were admitted.

First of all there was "the grandmother's house" the size of ten-flat block were Elena Ceausescu's mother lived all by herself. Then, [word indistinct] surrounded by a Japanese garden and a park, the residence of the parents and their children—Zoe, Nicu and Valentin—seven flats in all, two rooms for nephews and nieces, two offices, a siesta room, an evening relaxation room. In the same building a few auxiliary services were provided: a cinema hall, a hairdresser's parlour, a dentist's office, an intensive water therapy room, a wine cellar and a green-house at the top. Attending to all that were 80 servants who had to keep out of sight because the dictators could not stand strangers.

In the close vicinity of the residential building the—the pool, the cold baths (three pools with mesothermal sulphur water, Techirghiol lake water and heated seawater), another office, and the port where two yachts and speedboats were ready to raise anchor any time. For small pleasure voyages, of course.

Mosaics, frescoes and others decorate the buildings, the building materials being brought from Italy and France. Sculptures in marble and bronze can be seen everywhere.

Inside, paintings by Romanian masters—Tonitza, Aman, Grigorescu, Ghiata, Patrascu—tapestries, Chinese and Japanese porcelain, objects of art of great value, intarsia furniture.

And one more thing: the sand on the 2,000 sq.m. beach was sifted by a special military unit.

Tokes Says Ceausescu Execution Justified

AU0301102690 Hamburg BILD in German 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Romanian pastor Laszlo Tokes by Christian Sturm given on the Orient-Express train between Cluj and Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—He is a popular hero in Romania. With the resistance of Pastor Laszlo Tokes (37), Ceausescu's fall began. He gave an exclusive interview to BILD on the Orient-Express train between Cluj and Bucharest.

[BILD] How were you tortured?

[Tokes] Securitate members knocked me down in front of the altar in my church in Timisoara. They beat me with sticks and kicked me in my back with their boots. They then abducted me and took me to the Carpathian village of Mineu. There I was guarded by 50 persons. My wife Gabi (33) was also beaten. She is pregnant.

[BILD] How are you now?

[Tokes] I am relatively well. However, I am only now slowly realizing the danger which my wife and my 10-year-old son Florin were exposed to. As far as Ceausescu was concerned, I was already dead. I owe my life to God.

[BILD] In Timisoara alone 15,000 people died....

[Tokes] A lot of people certainly died because of me. This is very painful. They only wanted to help me. The Securitate accused me of being responsible for these deaths. This hurts, my soul is wounded.

[BILD] Your bishop was against you and on the side of Ceausescu....

[Tokes] The bishop has no character. He is no better than the Securitate. He betrayed his Christians and me (Bishop Laszlo Papp has meanwhile fled).

[BILD] Was the execution of the Ceausescu couple justified?

[Tokes] Yes. God may forgive them their deeds. However, it was cruel and disgraceful to show their trial on television.

Neagu Udroiu New AGERPRES Director General

AU3112111789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1023 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 31/12/1989—According to a decision of the Romanian Government, Neagu Udroiu was appointed director-general of the Romanian News Agency AGERPRES.

Born on 3 April 1940, Neagu Udroiu is a graduate of the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest. He was an editor with several leading dailies and was also a chief editor at the television.

Since 1979 he has been a general secretary of AGERPRES.

On various occasions he was AGERPRES special envoy abroad, to the UN included.

He published several feature-report books and books on the development of mass media.

Former King Sees 'Realistic Chance' for Return

AU0101080590 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 31 Dec 89 pp 28-30

[Report by Georg Markus on interview with former Romanian King Michael I in Geneva—date not given]

[Excerpts] The villa stands there as a symbol of vanishing elegance. One of many mansions here at the outskirts of Geneva, where industrialists, doctors, and diplomats are leading a quiet life. However, in the "Villa Serena" one encounters a piece of European history. For 40 years nobody cared for him. Yet, in these days he has received thousands of letters and speaks on the telephone with heads of state and government. Romania's 68-year-old exiled King Michael I is being rediscovered by the world. "The time has come for a new beginning in my country," he said. He wants to make his contribution to it.

He had ruled Romania for 10 years and was then forced to watch from a distance as his home country was dragged down by the Communists. His warnings of Ceausescu and his clan, which he regularly directed to the world, were unheeded. Now he has seen on television how shots were fired at his fellow countrymen; he has seen pictures of the dead, of the destroyed houses and castles, including his palace, and he felt a mixture of sadness and dispair. "The mass murder executed by the Securitate does not reflect the character of this peaceful people. I simply cannot understand how Ceausescu managed to recruit so many Romanians to kill for him. I have information on the use of drugs in this respect. This is the only explanation for it." [passage omitted]

Michael sees "a realistic chance" for his return, which he links to a single condition: "That the people want to have me. Enough has been dictated from above, now the Romanians must decide. I believe that I have the necessary authority among my people. The courageous human rights activist Doina Cornea has written to me and, like many people in the country, she hopes that I will return." Yesterday a spokesman of the 1.5 million exiled Romanians, who live all over the world, told me that they call for my return to the throne. "I will be there," Michael said, "as soon as the Romanian people get a chance to vote on it. A monarchy would be a good solution, because it would give the country stability. This is exactly what my people need now. Of course they also need good contacts with the West." [passage omitted on historical facts]

I asked the king the following question: We were all shocked when we had to see those pictures at Christmas. We saw dead people, and we saw a poor country, one of the poorest countries of Europe. Could you describe to me your Romania, how you remember it?

"It was a wealthy and happy country," he said with sparkling eyes. "We produced more than we needed and our exports were considerable. Before the war there was a survey according to which Romania came fourth in Europe as far as social security was concerned."

How long do you think it will take until the Romanians will once again be able to lead a life that is worthy of man?

"It could be in a relatively short time, because we have natural resources and hardworking engineers. We need technology and humanitarian aid from abroad. Of course we also need absolute freedom. We must return the land which Ceausescu stole from the people to them. As soon as the land is theirs, Romania will be a rich country again." [passage omitted]

I return once more to the current situation. Was the secret trial of the dictator and his immediate execution a mistake? The king replies quickly: "I am against any form of violence; under our Constitution there was no death penalty in times of peace. Although one can say with justification that, during the revolution of the past few days, Romania was in a state of war, a regular trial would have been the only correct answer." [passage omitted]

I asked the king and his wife, who lead a most peaceful life in one of the most beautiful spots of Europe, a personal question: "Do you really want to go away from here to a poor country, where the people do not even have enough to eat, a country that will suffer for a long time to come from the consequences of a deadly regime and a cruel civil war? Do you really want to do that?"

"I do not have to think about this question," the former monarch said with determination. "I consider my return as a duty; it is a matter of course that I am available for my people when they need me, and when I can help them. [passage omitted on the former king's wife]

I left the "Villa Serena" with the impression that the former king and his wife mean what they say. Whether the world will give them a chance to achieve their objectives and make their dreams come true, is another question.

Red Cross Estimates Death Toll 10,000

AU0201192890 Paris AFP in English 1902 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Helsinki, Jan 2 (AFP)—The Secretary-General of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Paer Stenbaeck, Tuesday revised downward estimates of 60,000 victims in the uprising against Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu, saying 10,000 people died.

The report came after a similar revision by Western diplomats in Romania.

Mr. Stenbaeck said Romanian hospitals were able to take care of the wounded, adding that foreign doctors who travelled to Romania rarely needed to perform operations.

In Geneva, a spokesman for the International Committee of the Red Cross said the number of 60,000 dead advanced by the Romanian provisional government was "grossly exaggerated."

Details of Nicu Ceausescu's Cruelty Reported

AU0301113390 Hamburg BILD in German 2 Jan 89 p 5

[Adrian Wells report: "The Ceausescu Clan: Torture and Hunger for the People—Caviar and Orgies for the Clan"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The man called Doru Braia, who described his experiences at the BILD headquarters in Hamburg, is 38 years old, married, and has one child. He founded the Romanian League for Human Rights in Munich. One of his incisor teeth, lost during an attack by the secret police, is still missing.

"I went to school with Nicu Ceausescu, and all the children hated him. He was a ruffian, stupid, and a boaster, who attacked the principal as early as the age of 12 because the principal wanted to separate him from another boy," Doru Braia states. [passage omitted]

Beautiful Girls Were Presented to Nicu

"There are two discotheques in Bucharest—which was once described as the Paris of the Balkans—the 'Atlantic' and the 'Athenee Palace.' Both are located opposite the Central Committee building. Nicu Ceausescu visited both of them regularly. The following ritual took place whenever he appeared:

"Security officials arrived first and threw out all the guests. Then Nicu and his clique appeared, usually including about 20 people, children of other Politburo members, as well as actors, bodyguards, etc."

The dancers who performed in these discotheques had to take off their clothes and allow the clique, including the girlfriends of the officials—to touch and finger them.

"All this happened in Ceausescu's puritanical Romania, where the party constantly expressed indignation about the loose morals of the West, and where nudity in public was heavily punishable!"

According to waiters, sexual intercourse apparently did not take place on these occasions, but there were oral intimacies. Nicu drank alcohol "like an animal," he smoked marijuana, and used stimulants.

"His bodyguards were instructed to hold back beautiful girls among the guests that were thrown out, and to show them to Nicu.... If he liked one, he nodded, and this meant that she was done for... ."

The actual orgies took place after the visits to the discotheques, at Ceausescu's villa. Most of the girls did not survive them.

"Despite the fact that a waiter had his tongue cut off because he had talked, rumors about Nicu's excesses persisted. Everybody in Bucharest knew about his torturing practices and about his 'speciality' of biting off girls' breasts."

There were numerous mothers who reported their daughters missing. They were told by the police to hold their tongues.

"He injured girls with razor blades and tortured them with burning stub ends. If they were seriously injured, he simply shot them dead and had them buried in some place... ."

Jilava Political Prisoners; Securitate Cruelty

AU0301122290 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 3 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by Livia Klingl: "Securitate Practiced Shooting at Prisoners"]

[Text] Bucharest/Vienna—The criminals called Ceausescu "Taticu"—daddy—because at the end of every year, in commemmoration of the end of the monarchy on 30 December 1947, he ordered an amnesty.

Robbers and murderers were released, while political prisoners remained in prison. The dossiers of the political prisoners were changed so that they could be registered as criminals. This was done so that they could not be traced.

Now representatives of the new leadership are once more examining the dossiers for further political victims of the Ceausescu regime.

Romania's largest prison, Jilava, is 30 km south of Bucharest. Watch towers, barbed wire, electric wire. On the roof of one of the houses hundreds of people are standing in the Siberian cold in a snow storm and are shouting "libertate, libertate." They also want to benefit from the recent upheavals.

"On 26 and 27 December we released 200 political prisoners. The others are exclusively criminals," prison commander Nicolae Ionescu says. A total of 2,000 people are still in this prison. The commander calls the unrest in his prison a "small rebellion." Asked by DER STANDARD whether prisoners were tortured in this prison and whether Securitate had a branch there, Ionescu says: "There are no torture chambers here, Securitate was not here before and is not here now. We are a transit prison." Is it possible to see the rooms? "Yes, with an official permit by the ministry." All rooms? "No, you cannot see everything."

In the course of 1 hour, eight young men left the three-square-kilometer area with small valises. Some of their mothers were waiting for them. They were plodding through the snow to their freedom.

Almost all dissidents with whom DER STANDARD spoke in Bucharest reported that they were tortured in Jilava. There are basements with torture chambers below the prison buildings.

Dumitru Matei, a dissident who spent 17 months in Ceausescu's prisons, said: "The only reason that I was not tortured in Jilava was that I had a heart attack. The danger that I might die was too great. I have relatives abroad. With such people they were careful that nothing happened in order to prevent an international scandal. Those who did not have any relatives at all were turned into moving targets for the Securitate members. Many of them had to give their lives for shooting practice."

Austrian Doctor Speaks on Need for Medical Aid

AU2912192589 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Telephone interview with Doctor Werner Vogt by news moderator Hans-Georg Heinke in Timisoara—live]

[Text] [Heinke] On the subject of medical aid for Romania, we now have an Austrian doctor on the telephone—Dr Werner Vogt, an accident surgeon from Vienna, who travelled to Romania with the medical train from the City of Vienna and is still there. Dr Vogt, what is the status medical situation in Temesvar [Timisoara]?

[Vogt] The hospitals are overcrowded with very seriously injured people who were injured over the past few days. The doctors here have done superhuman work. They have given basic treatment to most of the patients. However, there are many very seriously injured people who have to be operated on during the next few hours and days. Basically, every day—today, too, when we were operating—more injured, including seriously injured, people arrived.

The basic structure of the hospitals is such that they are quite overtaxed both in terms of personnel and material. We are dealing with a hospital structure that has not seen any relief from one day to the next, and where people do not know how to make decisions. When one asks specific questions here of official representatives regarding the need and calls for help at every door, they say that help is not needed.

Humanitarian Aid From Soviet Moldavia, DPRK

AU3112071089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2027 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/12/1989—Forty-seven railway cars crossed yesterday into Romania from the Moldavian SSR at Ungheni bringing medicines, butter, canned meat and vegetables, clothing, and other much needed things given in aid to the Romanian people at this time of trial.

Four of the cars were unloaded at Iasi, the rest being rerouted to Bucharest, Timisoara, Brasov and other places that went through the ordeal caused by gangs of pro-Ceausescu criminals and fanatics.

The red cross society of the DPR of Korea gave Romania 150,000 dollars in humanitarian aid, a symbol of its solidarity with the Romanian people.

Foreign Aid Coordination Command Established

AU3112174989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1309 GMT 31 Dec 89

[Text] From the Foreign Aid Coordination Command: In order to coordinate actions connected with the reception and distribution of aid from abroad, the Romanian Government has instituted a command which includes representatives of the Romanian Red Cross, the Health Ministry, Foreign Ministry, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Domestic Trade, Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, Ministry of Finance, and other public organizations.

Reception stations have been established at Otopeni Airport and at other airports, in railway stations, and at vehicle entrance points in Bucharest, as well as at border crossings, and at Constanta Port and the Danubian ports. The aid is being distributed as follows:

a) All parcels addressed to specific recipients—individuals, social and religious collectives, localities, and counties—will be mailed to those to whom they are addressed, free of charge.

b) The aid received in any form through the Red Cross and Red Crescent Organizations will be distributed by the Romanian Red Cross free of charge, in accordance with the international norms.

c) Foodstuffs, clothes, and other items that arrive in parcels and have no specific destination will be distributed by the local councils of the NSF [National Salvation Front] free of charge to the injured, to the families of those killed in action, to the soldiers in the Romanian Army, to other participants who guard and keep order, and to creches, orphanages, and other children's collectives, hospitals, old people's homes, and other places.

d) Foodstuffs and other non-alimentary goods which arrive in large quantities and are not included in individual parcels will be sold in the commercial network to supply the people. The funds which result from their sale will be transferred to the bank account called "aid from abroad" and will be used to assist the afflicted for reconstruction purposes.

e) Medicine, medical equipment, and other sanitary materials will be distributed to hospitals through the Health Ministry and other specialized institutions.

Strict measures have been taken for record-keeping and control.

The NSF local committees and the whole population are called upon to support the actions connected with receiving, transporting, and effectively delivering all aid.

Hungarian Minority Representative on Aid

LD0201203190 Budapest MTI in English 1955 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 2 (MTI)—"The Romanian population and nationalities of Romania are genuinely grateful for the material and moral assistance given by Hungary," said Andras Suto, writer and outstanding representative of the Hungarian minority of Romania, in a telephone interview given to MTI's export news desk.

He stressed that at the time of the revolution, Hungary's immediate help is making a great contribution to the gradual improvement of the relationship between the Romanian and the Hungarian population of Romania. "During Ceausescu's dictatorship, this relationship had deteriorated so badly that it seemed the restoration of peaceful relations would take a long time."

According to his knowledge, the aid consignments go either to the Romanian church authorities or directly to health institutions, or are being sold by the Romanian authorities to obtain money to help the families of the people who died in the revolution. Mr Suto considers this exchange an emergency action.

He said that in Maros County where he lives and probably in the other counties, the situation has by and large become consolidated. The local squads of the Securitate have been virtually destroyed, and police are maintaining law and order. The nationalities are not yet practicing the rights asserted by the revolution and still fear to use their native language.

There is a plan to hold a national conference in Bucharest with the participation of all nationalities of Romania to coordinate views.

Presidency's 18 Dec Statement to Assembly

AU2612192589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on the SFRY Presidency's stands on the country's current situation presented to the SFRY Assembly delegates on 18 December]

[Text] (Belgrade, 18 Dec)—The SFRY Presidency has decided to send the SFRY Assembly its stands on some topical questions concerning the internal situation in the country. Later (the date will be set subsequently), Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, will address the SFRY Assembly delegates about the state of and problems in domestic and foreign policies. We are publishing the stands in a slightly abridged and edited form. At several of its sessions, in whose work the presidents of the republican and provincial presidencies and some officials from the federal organs also took part, the SFRY Presidency discussed the country's current political and economic situation, adopted some stands on them, and undertook certain measures within its constitutional powers and responsibilities. Considering that the situation has deteriorated, especially in the sphere of interethnic and interrepublican relations, on 8 November the SFRY Presidency decided to inform the SFRY Assembly about the state of and problems in domestic and foreign policies, and the measures and direction of further activities for the stabilization of the country's overall situation. The SFRY Presidency has also informed the public about its conclusion.

On 6 December of this year, the SFRY Assembly sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency asking the SFRY Presidency, on the basis of the provisions contained in Article 318 of the SFRY Constitution and in accordance with its constitutional duties and responsibilities, to present in written form its views on the country's situation, particularly with regard to the implementation of Article 313, paragraph 2 of the SFRY Constitution according to which the SFRY Presidency is obliged to take care of the harmonization of the common interests of the republics and provinces in line with its responsibilities concerning the realization of the federation's rights and duties, and to present in its stands the assessments of the increasingly frequent instances of the violation of the constitutional system and threats to the unity and integrity of the SFRY.

The SFRY is at the decisive stage of the key changes in the framework of the political, economic, and overall social reform. These reformist processes are taking place under extremely difficult and complex social, economic, and political circumstances. The longstanding economic stagnation and the extremely sharp rise in inflation are decisively influencing the country's overall situation and threatening its integrity.

The reformist processes we have embarked upon are proceeding at an intolerably slow pace, above all, because of the strong resistance of those forces which oppose the inevitably radical social changes. The narrow republican and provincial interests and gravitation toward national programs [as published] is blocking the initiated social changes to the detriment of the country as a whole and of all the republics and provinces, nations and nationalities, and of every citizen of Yugoslavia.

The spawning of nationalism and chauvinism exercises a destructive influence upon interethnic relations and seriously threatens one of the revolutions's greatest achievements—equality, brotherhood, and unity between Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities.

In the course of rounding-up the national platform and the starting points on the eve of the key reformist changes in the political and economic system, violations of the Constitution and of federal laws are becoming evermore frequent. In the course of this, all the ambiguities and inconsistencies in the existing constitutional and legal system are being taken advantage of as the federal organs' decisions and conclusions are not being carried out, not even those of the SFRY Presidency.

Although there are some positive results, the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo remains one of the prime causes of the turbulence in interethnic relations, primarily because of the differences in the assessments of the current problems in the province and the dismissals of the actions taken to implement the endorsed political program.

The interethnic disputes and confrontations, as well as the danger of deepening interethnic conflicts, give rise to concern among all our foreign political interlocutors. If these disputes are not resolved soon they cannot but weaken Yugoslavia's position and diminish its credibility with respect to its international activities.

Proceeding from the overall situation in the country, the SFRY Presidency has come to the conclusion that it its should inform the SFRY Assembly about the following:

Interethnic, and Intrarepublican Relations

1. Proceeding from the assessment that interethnic relations within the country have plunged to their lowest point in our postwar history and that the occurrences of nationalism are in evidence across the country's entire territory, the SFRY Presidency is determined that all those who, in whatever part of our country, incite national hatred and provoke national intolerance and confrontation either by their nationalistic and chauvinistic activities or by any other means contravening the law should be energetically barred by all legal means at our disposal. At the same time, such occurrences should be uprooted in their initial stages by stepped up political activity in the environments where they arise.

2. The SFRY Presidency resolutely insists on stopping the further deterioration in interethnic and intrarepublican relations. It maintains that it is necesary to create a social climate which will contribute to conducting constructive dialogue and removing mistrust and intolerance in interethnic and intrarepublican relations. The

SFRY Presidency assesses that the conditions must urgently be created for reaching, without delay, an agreement on the open questions of essential significance for the functioning and further development of the Yugoslav community.

In keeping with this, it is necessary that in the federation, republic, and autonomous provinces the practice be terminated whereby every attempt to harmonize interests is unnecessarily politicized in an unprincipled way and transformed into mutual conflicts between the leaderships, something that blocks any constructive action and effort to resolve the problems and overcome the crisis. Instead of this, it is necessary to invest efforts in all environments to devise constructive solutions and contribute in a concrete way to overcoming certain confrontations and conflicts.

3. The SFRY Presidency maintains that the energy wasted on proving certain causes behind the current unfavorable situation in interethic and inrarepublican relations from the distant or the more recent past can and must be redirected to actions at resolving the most significant questions of political and economic stabilization.

It is especially significant that the republican and provincial leaderships embark, as soon as possible, on direct meetings and talks on all the disputable questions and start removing mutual misunderstandings and conflicts with mutual respect and consideration.

5. [number as published] It is necessary to stop the "media war" which has recently reached such proportions that they directly contribute to the deterioration in interethnic and intrarepublican relations. Regarding this, one should step up to the highest degree the responsibility of all those people who abuse or facilitate the abuse of freedom of expression and in this way incite and propagate national mistrust and hatred.

Editorial policies must not only prevent these occurrences but must also ensure a constructive contribution on the part of the media to the betterment of interethnic and intrarepublican relations.

The SFRY Presidency demands that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] assess as soon as possible, in the framework of its competence, the situation in this sphere and the need to change the legal provisions in it by taking international experiences into consideration.

6. All the competent state organs must, in the framework of their competence, take measures to reach uniform criteria for administering legal and other provisions to perpetrators of nationalist activities and regularly give guidelines for the work of the security organs and services for detecting and suppressing the activities aimed at undermining and destroying the SFRY's constitutionally endorsed order.

The strains in interethnic relations were influenced to a high degree by the adoption of the disputed amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, the announced rally in Ljubljana, and the measures taken to prevent it as well as by the reactions that ensued.

In connection with these events, the SFRY Presidency has adopted the stance that in the event of a conflict between the constitutional norms of any republic of an autonomous province and the SFRY Constitution, the provisions of the SFRY Constitution must be consistently applied throughout the territory of Yugoslavia. In accordance with this the SFRY Presidency has called on everyone, and in particular on the FEC, to ensure the consistent and uniform application of the SFRY Constitution, the federal laws, and other regulations based on the SFRY Constitution, in order to safeguard human rights and freedoms, the equality of nations and nationalities, the Yugoslav market's unity, the country's integrity, and the guarantee that the system as a whole will function.

The SFRY Presidency has decided, after a full review of the situation, to give a final assessment of these events and to inform the public accordingly.

The political, security, economic, and social conditions in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo remain serious and complex, which is having a negative effect on relations within the country. The implementation so far of measures and activities from the Yugoslav program has yielded certain results.

The extraordinary measures of the SFRY Presidency and, in keeping with these, the actions taken by the competent organs, and in particular in the SAP of Kosovo, have halted the wave of aggressive behavior by Albanian nationalists and separatists, made possible the execution of the basic functions of the state organs, and created preconditions for taking political and other measures and actions on which eliminating the causes of the present tensions and difficulties in the SAP of Kosovo primarily depends. In view of the degree of improvement in the security situation in the SAP of Kosovo, certain extraordinary measures have been ended.

However, the activity of Albanian nationalists is still intensive, despite the effective work of the state organs and political organizations to incapacitate them. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues almost unabated despite the series of measures taken to eliminate the causes which encourage it, and the return of emigres and the arrival of those who want to live and work in the province, which is a special task of the Yugoslav program, has not been achieved.

The level of development achieved in the SAP of Kosovo remains unsatisfactory. The present economic difficulties in the SAP of Kosovo are the result—apart from the factors which have caused the economic crisis in all parts of our country—primarily of many years of inadequate development policy.

In order to stabilize the overall situation in Kosovo, the SFRY Presidency considers that it is essential:

1. To ensure the consistent realization of the measures and activities envisaged in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and to achieve greater unity in the whole country on the measures and activities for overcoming the present unfavorable situation in Kosovo. In addition to the measures and activities of the state and of other organs, it is necessary to create the necessary social climate for their effective work through broad social and political action.

2. To ensure the state organs' legal and effective work, and in this connection, to continue to offer professional and cadre assistance from the republic, the SAP of Vojvodina, and the federation to the competent organs in Kosovo. It is also necessary to consistently realize the rights and responsibilities of the SR of Serbia as set out in the constitutional changes, which does not exclude the responsibility of the other federal units and the federation for the situation and the solution of the problems in Kosovo.

3. To direct the measures of the security organs and services toward the even more effective detection and elimination of illegal activities from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism, the guaranteeing of citizens' complete personal and material security regardless of their national and other affiliation, the protection of social property and all forms of property from illegal appropriation and damage, the prevention and eradication of all forms of crime, particularly those directed against interethnic relations, and the effective detection and eradication of all forms of subversive activity.

4. To keep in force the extraordinary measures relating to the ban on gatherings and demonstrations, and the obligation to work in organizations where this is still in force. It is also necessary to maintain the measures relating to the direct organization and execution of certain state security tasks by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the involvement of the combined militia unit with the proviso that all these measures will be continuously monitored and their removal ensured when a new situation arises.

5. To rely more on our own resources, the consolidation of technological and work disciplines, and directly relating the position of employees to the results of economic activity, the greater involvement of the SAP of Kosovo's economy in the Yugoslav economy by introducing joint development and production programs, the securing of specific purpose funds, and the effective utilization of federal funds and other resources earmarked for more rapid economic and social development and more productive employment. To this end it is necessary to set about drawing up a new development program for the SAP of Kosovo, including the possibility of involving international financial institutions.

6. To resolutely stamp out in all work and living environments, and in particular in education, science, culture, and public information, indoctrination from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism. The combination of economic, social, health, and educational and other measures in the sphere of demographic policies should be used to influence family planning.

7. To oppose at the international level foreign interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

The Socioecoomic Situation

The SFRY Presidency has judged that, although certain results have been achieved this year in economic trends, the unfavorable tendencies in economic currents, and particularly the enormous growth of inflation, pose a threat to the process of socioecoomic reform which is underway and are seriously undermining the living standard of working people and citizens, which may give rise to social disturbances with unforeseeable consequences.

1. Judging that the struggle against inflation is the foremost economic, social, and political task, the SFRY Presidency has told the FEC on several occasions that it is essential to confront inflation energetically and effectively with a complete economic program in the short term and with the united activity of all the country's authorities.

To this end and in parallel with the more rapid conclusion of work on the development of a new economic system, it is necessary to propose, adopt, and implement a package of economic and development policy measures which will ensure that inflation is curbed in the shortest possible period, and that the process of reducing it gets underway. This would be facilitated by the successful conclusion of talks with international financial organizations and other factors to secure the necessary financial support for our stabilization policies.

2. In our efforts to contribute to anti-inflationary policies with our suggestions and our exchanges of views with the FEC, the SFRY Presidency has particularly stressed the need for the foreign economic sector and the monetary and financial sphere to serve the anti-inflationary policy, for greater coordination of personal incomes and work results, and for the appropriate economic activity to be ensured.

3. The social tensions which will be increased by the measures for the struggle against inflation must be alleviated in the short term by drawing up social programs and by appropriate financial resources. This also includes the procurement of funds for the recovery of the major economic systems, and in particular the recovery of the financial system.

5. [number as published] The SFRY Presidency insists:

—on the rapid adoption of the remaining reform laws and the completion of the new economic system as an essential element of the economic reform,

—on the urgent curbing and reduction of inflation on sound economic bases.

—on a quicker and more consistent implementation of all the elements of economic reform and, in this context, on strengthening integrative processes in the country and those directed to the world, and particularly on continuing Yugoslavia's more active approach to European integration.

Adopting the New Constitution

Given the fact that the existing unfavorable processes in economic, social, and political relations in Yugoslav society can only be overcome by an overall and radical social reform, the SFRY Presidency maintains that the constitutional changes should be carried out by adopting the new constitution. [sentence as received]

Proceeding from the proposals and initiatives of citizens and working people, their organizations and communities, and the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber, the SFRY Presidency has endorsed a draft proposal to the effect that changing the constitution should begin and has submitted it to the presidiums of the republics and provinces so that consultations can be conducted there.

The new constitution must create a broader basis for the democratic and more efficient resolution of social contradictions and open up prospects for a more stable and rapid material and social development in our country. As the new constitution is adopted it is necessary to ensure the further development, enrichment, and consolidation of the basic values on which the Yugoslav community is based: socialism, self-management, democracy, human and civic freedoms and rights, equality of nations and nationalities, the federal character of our community, the country's independence, all-people's defense, commitment to peace and cooperation in the world, and the equality of all people, nations, and countries.

The Presidency also maintains that the new constitution ought to establish such solutions that will facilitate Yugoslav socialist society to assert itself as economically successful, democratic, progressive, and humanitarian. It advocates a short and comprehensible constitution which should comprise the necessary legal means to establish itself as the code of the highest legal powers and authority.

The new constitution ought to ensure the social and material conditions for expanding and improving with new content human and civic freedoms and rights, their observance and effective protection, including freedoms of unions' and political organization, association, and action, in accordance with the SFRY Constitution.

Also, it is necessary to improve and ensure all the conditions for observing consistently the principles of constitutionality and legality by all legal subjects and their effective legal protection.

The SFRY Presidency considers that the new constitution should also facilitate the development of a modern, market-oriented economy, capable of ensuring full economic efficiency, the more successful social and economic development of the country, and its equal and intensive involvement in world economic trends.

The new SFRY Constitution should also clearly define the federation as a democratic socialist state and community which should have full legal and political subjectivity within the framework of its established powers as set out in the SFRY Constitution. Relations in the federation should be based on the principles that citizens and working people, nations and nationalities, realize their sovereign rights in socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to the extent to which these are conferred on them by the republic's constitution, and in the federation when this is, in the common interests, set out in the SFRY Constitution. This presupposes that the federation has the legislative, executive-legal, and court authorization to realize the efficient and qualitative implementation of the functions of the federation on the country's entire territory, which every modern and efficient state founded on federal principles has.

The SFRY Presidency considers that the new constitution should maintain the valid concept of all-people's defense which has successfully affirmed itself as a defense strategy for the country. The constitution should also affirm that Yugoslavia bases its international relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence, and equality of all countries, consistently adhering to the UN Charter and other international legal acts and instruments.

The SFRY Presidency advocates that the new constitution should express concisely the legal and political essence and framework of Yugoslav society and of the SFRY as a federal state and socialist democratic community, and that in this sense it should be rid of superfluous ideopolitical, declarative elements.

It should establish in principle the bases for the kind of economic and political system that will open up the greatest possible opportunities for the creativity and motivation of the individual, the freedom of economic subjects, and the self-organization of sociopolitical communities and other organizations and communities.

In setting in motion the initiative for the changes in the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency considers that the entire procedure of adopting the new SFRY Constitution should give impetus to the search for the most adequate solutions that will facilitate the continual progress of the SFRY as a whole and of all its parts on socialist bases.

The SFRY Presidency considers that an essential condition for overcoming the crisis and for the further stable and rapid development of Yugoslavia as a whole and all its parts is that all progressive and creative social forces should unite and involve themselves in solving these problems. The SFRY Presidency will resolutely engage in resolving these issues, and it will particularly insist that the new SFRY Constitution be adopted as soon as possible.

Assembly Endorses 1990 Federal Budget

AU0201140190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Budget Is Endorsed"]

[Text] The federal budget was endorsed this evening [28 December] by the Committee for Finance of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly.

The formal decision on the budget, which is worth 76.7 billion convertible dinars, is made by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Milosevic Interview on Serbia-Slovenia Dispute

AU2812185289 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 22 Dec 89 p 1,4-5

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency: "Serbia, A Republic of Equality for All"]

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, responded positively to our Editorial Board's request for an exclusive interview for RILINDJA. Immediately after the end of the 11th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists [LC], he received our team of reporters which had covered the congress, led by our chief editor Beqir Hoti, and gave the following interview for RILINDJA readers.

Question: How are interethnic relations now, and what kind of relations must be fostered in the struggle for the freedom and equality of our peoples and nationalities and all our citizens in the republic and the provinces, in the spirit of the now-accomplished constitutional changes and the unity that has been achieved?

Answer: Even before the constitutional changes were carried out in Serbia, and especially before their approval, we in the Serbian leadership stressed that these changes will not endanger any people or nationality in Serbia. The constitutional changes merely intended to establish the territorial and sociopolitical integrity and status of Serbia in Yugoslavia, which had earlier been in doubt, making Serbia, both from a territorial and sociopolitical point of view, unequal with the other republics in Yugoslavia. The constitutional changes have repaired this situation. The autonomous provinces within the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia were earlier used as a basis for Serbia's disintegration from a territorial, economic, and sociopolitical point of view. In general, the constitutional changes have made integration possible in the constitutional sense. However, the process of economic, political, and cultural integration will take longer, as is only natural. As for interethnic relations, they are based on the equality of all peoples and nationalities and of all citizens who live in Serbia. All who live in Serbia must consider the republic to be their own. It is not therefore the aim of the changes to create unity merely among the Serbs, but to affirm in Serbia equal relations among all citizens, regardless of their national allegiance.

Question: Incomprehensible paternalism, supposedly over the position of the Albanians in the SR of Serbia, is substantially complicating the incipient process of generally stabilizing the province. Some individuals are even casting doubt on the clear assessment of the counterrevolutionary character of the "Kosovo—Republic" slogan. What comments do you have on such behavior?

Answer: It is not concern for the Albanians that lies behind such paternalism. Those who spread propaganda about "Kosovo—Republic" are advocating not only the destruction of Serbia, but their own secession from Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia's fragmentation. Every reasonable person can see this today.

Question: The activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism is still present in Kosovo, while ideopolitical differentiation is encountering resistance. How can the sources, instigators, and carriers of Albanian nationalism and separatism be effectively eliminated?

Answer: We did not expect to overcome injustice and sneers against us without resistance. The chauvinists must be identified wherever they are, in political forums, in working organizations, schools, and the media. They must be prevented from managing enterprises, from teaching young people and children, and from occupying editorial posts in the mass media. You asked me how the savagery of Albanian nationalism is to be eliminated, and I told you, but I must add that I think that every other kind of nationalism in our country must be eliminated in the same way.

Question: The constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia have been carried out, and the Yugoslav program for Kosovo has begun to be realized. How can the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo be stopped?

Answer: The constitutional changes are a basic precondition for solving the question of the status of the Serbs and Montenegrins. However, this precondition, although vital, is not enough in itself. Even the Yugoslav program for Kosovo itself is in the opening stages of its realization. The situation in Kosovo is improving, but the difficulties of the Serbs and Montenegrins have not been eliminated. The daily life of many Serbs and Montenegrins is not easy, and for some it is difficult even now. However, the fact that the terror and humiliation to which they have been subjected in recent years are no longer a way of life must be considered a success and a positive result.

Everybody Is Now Equal in Serbia

Question: During the drafting of the laws which will be enforced throughout the republic's territory, Albanian nationalists has been trying to instill fear that the legislative order will deviate from the guidelines established in the constitutional changes. This is what certain nationalist and destructive forces outside the SR of Serbia say. Is there any reason for fear?

Answer: No. I have stressed this several times in the last year. All the citizens of Serbia are now equal among themselves and will continue to be so. This theory about the danger to the Albanians is being promoted by circles and individuals who are not only ill-disposed toward Serbia, but have been equally intolerant, recently, toward Yugoslavia.

Question: Various suppositions have been made that in some of your statements you have taken up the defense of Serbs and Montenegrins, but not Albanians (bearing in mind principally your famous speech at Kosovo Polje). Do you have any comment on this?

Answer: I took the side of those in danger. At that time, these were Serbs and Montenegrins. I did not take their side because I am a Serb, but because the forces of injustice had to be stopped. If another people were in similar danger in the republic where I hold political responsibility and authority, and have the possibility of exercising this authority, I would take the side of those other people, in other words the side of justice.

Question: What do you think about gatherings of citizens on the basis of national allegiance in ethnically mixed areas?

Answer: They are necessary, under conditions where citizens are in danger on the basis of their nationality, but they are a phenomenon that must be eliminated as soon as possible from our political life. It goes without saying that this will be possible when all peoples and Yugoslav citizens feel economically, politically, and culturally equal. Gatherings on a national basis were necessary for the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, because they were in danger due to their nationality. However, all the other gatherings in Serbia were not on a national basis, but arose out of the struggle against the injustice taking place in Kosovo. Citizens of Serbia, not only Serbs, gathered on this basis. The largest gathering of this kind, the great rally at Usce on 19 November 1988, involved members of all the Yugoslav peoples and was devoted to demands for the preservation of Yugoslavia as our common homeland.

Question: How is the affirmation of the (spiritual) values and the creativity of the Albanian nationality, assessed in a Marxist way, to be ensured, supported, and accepted as a normal form of national affirmation?

Answer: The Albanian nationality in Kosovo has never previously been denied opportunities to express its own national identity through science, education, and culture. Nor in the future will this happen in Kosovo or Serbia, but there must be similar attention to the Albanians' national identity and integrity in other parts of Yugoslavia where Albanians live.

Nationalism—A Primitive Expression of National Feelings

Question: The activity of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism is also present, not only in Kosovo. The Serbian LC has issued assessments of this, and such activity is not being passed over without being condemned. Outside Serbia, there is criticism that a sufficiently open struggle is not being waged against this nationalism, and this is creating a feeling that we in Kosovo supposedly have double standards in the struggle against nationalism. Do you have any comment?

Answer: As you yourselves well know, we have no double standards. However, neither are we inclined to impose political symmetry by force. In Serbia, there are no attacks on citizens or any other kind of discrimination on the basis of nationality. In this sense, Serbia could serve as an example to the whole of Yugoslavia. The Serbian people would never accept the terror of Serbian nationalists, precisely for the sake of the Serbian people and all citizens in Serbia, and we in the Serbian leadership will be at pains to struggle against our own form of nationalism, as progressive and up-to-date people should. I personally consider every form of nationalism and nationalism in general to be a primitive way of showing national feelings. If nationalism mutates into its most aggressive form, chauvinism, then there must be a response to the aggressiveness it exhibits toward other peoples and individuals not part of its own people.

How can a common front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others be created in the general struggle to stabilize the situation in Kosovo, and what are the issues facing this front?

Answer: All those living in Kosovo must involve themselves in the common task of Kosovo's material and cultural development, bringing it closer to other, more developed parts of Yugoslavia.

Question: The Yugoslav program for Kosovo is being realized slowly, the restructuring of the Kosovo economy has only just begun, and there is great unemployment among educated and qualified young people. How must a solution to this problem be found?

Answer: The changes in the Kosovo economy are an aspect of the economic changes throughout Serbia and in the country as a whole. These changes should also solve the issues of restructuring the economy and increasing employment, especially among educated young people. Serbia will carry out these great changes throughout its territory, bearing in mind here that Kosovo is Serbia's most undeveloped part.

The Goal: Hastening Reform

Question: You lead the SR of Serbia Presidency Commission on the issue of economic reform. What has been done so far, what are the chances of success, and how far will the commission's work be reflected in Kosovo?

Answer: The commission's basic goal is, through its initiatives and proposals, to hasten the realization of economic and social reform. The commission's very first document, "Basic Goals of the Reform of the Economic System," is a consistent and argued exposition of a modern socialist economic system based on the laws of the modern production of goods and the positive experiences of developed market economies. On this basis, the commission has prepared a series of concrete proposals, which above all concern the systematic economic assumptions underlying the operation of a single Yugoslav market and an integrated market in goods, capital, labor, and skills. From the standpoint of reform, we also insist on the approval of the entire anti-inflationary program. At the same time, the commission is continuing its work in preparing concrete programs for the reform and reorganization in the republic. A number of such initiatives have now been put on a legal footing, and various systemizing laws will also soon be approved. I also wish to mention the field of social policy, housing, social activity, the formation of public enterprises on the entire republic's territory in the electrical industry, the railroads, and posts, telegraph, and telecommunications, the loan for Serbia's economic regeneration, the reform of agriculture, and the program of rationalization and savings, especially in general and joint consumption. Nor is this all.

I am convinced that the commission, through such work, is contributing to the implementation of all the economic reform in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The commission, in its work plan, has also planned to carefully examine the entire concept of the reform for the faster socioeconomic development of Kosovo and more effective ties between Kosovo and other regions of the republic and Yugoslavia. It is a question above all of fresh content in integrative processes in the economy, which involve the investment of both funds and personnel in the formation of new enterprises and investment in the modernization of existing capacity. The drafting of a program for small businesses in the social sector, of both a private and mixed nature, in all the communes of Kosovo continues. This program aims to create small- and medium-sized businesses which will operate viably and employ young and educated people. We will also talk frankly about population policy, the education system, and cadre planning, because these are also essential elements of our entire developmental strategy, which should offer everybody in Kosovo the chance to become involved in an active economic life and thus improve living standards for themselves and their families.

Question: On what basic criteria will the funds from the loan be invested?

Answer: The basic criterion in assessing the value of projects submitted is profit. We expect real competition among different programs and projects, large and small enterprises, and different kinds of ownership. The loan is of a commercial nature, and each project must therefore aim at the greatest possible yield from capital and the fastest possible recoupment of deposited funds. The loan will stimulate a new cycle of development throughout the republic, relying on the most effective exploitation of its potential and its advantages, especially as regards the employment of young and educated people. This is the main buttress of our general reforming thrust and of the reorganization of our economy toward an economic market, competition, and the full independence and responsibility for business results of every participant.

Economic Problems Cannot Be Solved by Mass Layoffs of Workers

Question: How can the social policy program be realized?

Answer: We are a socialist society. The severe economic problems we are faced with cannot be solved by mass layoffs of workers, and there can be no successful implementation of the reform or determined grappling with hyperinflation without an active social policy. For this reason, we in Serbia have adopted and now have begun to implement a comprehensive social program, which on one hand makes it easier for enterprises to cope with the difficulties in which the reforming reorganization will place them, and on the other hand guarantees social security for the populace's most jeopardized strata. The concrete tools of this program are the definition of a lower limit for personal incomes, thus ensuring a basic standard of living for the worker and his family, the creation of funds for workers' retraining, and the reinvolvement in active life of those who have been left temporarily unemployed by the modernization and restructuring of the economy, and finally a comprehensive and just system protecting the social security of each family whose total income is insufficient to cover the minimal necessities of life.

Society must make good this shortfall, and secure the funds from those who have more or who do not earn their incomes from work. It is good that the federation has now also begun to think about social policy on these lines, and that it is becoming clear that the consequences of carrying out the reform in the social sphere must be tackled at every level, including the federal one.

Question: Despite major help both financially and in other ways from the federation and the SR of Serbia, the material conditions of public services, particularly education, health, science, culture, and the media in Kosovo remain very impoverished. How can current problems be coped with, and how is deleterious cadre selection in these fields to be avoided?

Answer: In this respect, the situation in these areas of life is the same, in other words unfavorable, throughout Serbia. The material position of the health service in Serbia, even of such top-level institutions as the Belgrade Medical Faculty's Clinical Center, is very difficult. They can barely carry out their duties to the sick. The University of Belgrade, the highest educational institution in Serbia, is also in a very difficult material position. Personal incomes in some of its faculties are no more than those of high school teachers in the economically strongest communes.

The unfavorable position of these work areas must therefore be radically transformed in the course of the thorough social reforms. The question of the deleterious selection of cadres is now being solved by elections in the republic. There are increasing numbers of new, young, and educated people. In Kosovo, the fact must be borne in mind that new people in Kosovo's political, economic, and cultural life should be loyal to Serbia as their republic and to Yugoslavia as their homeland. Such a cadre policy will not deter able, skilled, and progressive people from going to Kosovo, but will encourage people to return.

Kosovo—Open to All

Question: There have been reactions to the high personal incomes and other perquisites of cadres going to Kosovo, even though they do the same work as Kosovo cadres who are equally well-qualified and of the same nationality. How do you explain this?

Answer: This is one of the ways to encourage people, especially highly-qualified specialists, to return to Kosovo. This also involved experts from all parts of the country, and not just Serbs and Montenegrins.

If members of these nationalities return in larger numbers than others, this is normal, because it was they who were forced to leave their homes. It is therefore normal for them to return when they are given the chance.

Question: In Kosovo, we are faced with the arrival of Albanians from some communes in the south of Serbia, as well as from Macedonia and Montenegro (although very few), and this is complicating matters further. How do you view this problem?

Answer: All those who wish to return from Kosovo and to contribute to the province's and their own prosperity with their labor must do so. This is true for Albanians also.

An Up-to-Date and Democratic Vision

Question: The Presidency of the SR of Serbia has drawn up a draft program for changing the political system. In some parts of the country, this plan has not been well received. What do you think about this?

Answer: The program of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia for changing the political system is an up-to-date and democratic vision of a socialist state. At least we in Serbia see it as such. We do not doubt the possibility of even citizens of Serbia, let alone other republics, disagreeing with our views, or their right to do so. All well-intentioned people must express their own opinion of our commitment to the changes in the political system whereby we wish to make it more democratic and effective. However, we reject malevolent reactions, jibes, and erroneous interpretations of the content and meaning of these changes. These have arisen among certain circles and individuals who do not have good intentions toward Serbia, who are used to seeing Serbia on its knees, and cannot tolerate the idea of a successful and dignified Serbia.

Question: Could the well-known phrase, "A strong Serbia, a strong Yugoslavia" be expanded into "Strong provinces, a strong Serbia," if cooperation between the republics and provinces were intensified?

Answer: I am first of all in favor of a strong Yugoslavia. As for Yugoslavia's republics, they must be equal and also strong, but not at each other's expense or at that of Yugoslavia. They must strengthen Yugoslavia through their own economic and social strength and their harmonious relations. The existence of provinces within Serbia implies a respect for the autonomy which is guaranteed them and regulated by the Serbian Constitution; they remain constituent elements of their republic, so that the republic does not fall to secondary status just because it includes provinces.

The Conflict Between Progressive and Conservative Forces

Question: The amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia have been judged to be contrary to the SFRY Constitution. Is any republic sufficiently able and strong to exist apart from Yugoslavia?

Answer: Personally, I do not believe that any republic could do better outside Yugoslavia than within it. The Yugoslav community or the Yugoslav state is not to blame for the discontentment of some of its members. However, the system has operated in such a way as to divert attention from the struggle for common prosperity into mutual conflicts.

Question: Yugoslav society is passing through very serious times. Conflicts among the leaderships have reached an extreme pitch. What, in your view, is the solution to this serious crisis?

Answer: First of all, it is not a question of a squabble; we are dealing with a conflict between progressive and conservative forces on the Yugoslav political stage. The solution is to identify the causes which started the conflicts. It is therefore necessary to find a common language in order to preserve Yugoslavia and build a new, up-to-date, successful, and democratic socialist society. In the final analysis, it is necessary to make it possible for appropriate people with ideals of this kind to hold leading positions in the republics and Yugoslavia—people who are concerned about Yugoslavia and socialism. In order to achieve their goals, they must be united and capable, and must above all respect each other.

Question: Apart from the existing problems, a battle is being waged in Yugoslavia between two conceptions of the sociopolitical system and of socialism in Yugoslavia. How can we find a common conception of socialism, a concentrated Yugoslav synthesis?

Answer: Many battles are presently being waged in Yugoslavia. Behind all these battles, there lies a major battle, between those against socialism and Yugoslavia on one hand and in favor of socialism and Yugoslavia on the other hand.

A common conception of socialism can be won through a common conception of its reform. Through this reform, our socialist society must develop more and faster, must be a truly democratic society, and must have conditions for a free development of culture and particularly of creativity. Meanwhile, a common conception of Yugoslavia must be gained on the basis of the genuine equality of all the peoples and people living in Yugoslavia. We have conditions under which we can reach an understanding both on our conception of socialism and our conception of Yugoslavia. However, we must first defeat the resistance to socialism and Yugoslavia. In some trends on our political stage, the struggle against socialism and against Yugoslavia is more powerfully present and active in the country than the struggle for socialism and for Yugoslavia. This is why the crisis is deepening. The balance of forces in our country is, in fact, in favor of socialism and of Yugoslavia. The very process of tearing the masks from various ideas and those who propound them is showing this precise fact.

Political Pluralism

Question: According to you, what is the destiny of political pluralism in Serbia and in Yugoslavia in general?

Answer: The various political views and organizations which have become popular, such as so-called political pluralism, are not in any way contentious. I really see no reason why any society, if it is not thoroughly tyrannical, should prevent a diversity of political views and organizations on various social bases which are the foundation for these various interests and opinions. However, if this so-called political pluralism is used as another term to supplant Yugoslavia and socialism, then we in Serbia are against it. There are no grounds for insisting on ascribing such a position to a lack of democracy, because there is freedom of political organization in Serbia, and it will not be blocked by administrative obstacles of any kind. However, steps employing those forms of democracy which have even become obsolete in bourgeois society, which is itself looking for new forms of democracy, do not seem to us to be progressive. We have come out in favor of a democratic society, in which all progressive views which will contribute to society's material and cultural prosperity will find expression. This is how I see Serbia and how I also see Yugoslavia.

Citizens of Serbia Have a Key Role in These Turbulent Times

Question: To what extent is the bourgeois right active in Belgrade, and how would you comment on the accusations coming from some circles in our country that the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and 7 Francuska Street [seat of the Serbian Writers Association] determine policy in Serbia?

Answer: First of all, conservative forces, try as they may, have no influence on political life in Serbia. I know these accusations, and I do not say they are totally without any kind of foundation. The crisis into which our society and socialism in the world has plunged has emboldened the right everywhere, and thus in Serbia, too. However, to tell the truth, this right wing has been encouraged least of all in Serbia. Nevertheless, it is at least present. The truth is, to go back to the point, that it is precisely those circles who attribute a revival of the right to Serbia who have themselves adopted conservative attitudes. Moreover, those circles which accuse us of strengthening the right in Serbia simultaneously accuse us of reviving Stalinism. These two accusations are contradictory. We cannot do both. I assert that we are doing neither. We aim to build a form of socialism which in its future phase will acquire the new physiognomy of an economically developed, democratic society, receptive to the progressive ideas of our age. As for the second part of your question, I can give you a clear and concrete answer. The church in Serbia, as elsewhere in Yugoslavia, is separate from the state. However, our attitude toward the church is not hostile or intolerant. It must not be concluded from this that the church influences the SR of Serbia's political life.

Seven Francuska Street is not a meeting point of enemies and conservatives, who would not dare to influence events in Serbian society. Many writers and intellectuals of Serbia gather there, including outstanding artists and progressive people, and they should have an influence on events in society. It would be wrong if society were to deny itself their influence. It must be understood that there are conservative people with anti-Yugoslav attitudes there, as everywhere else, and also people without any significance as artists. I do not deny the possibility of their making an impression on political life in Serbia, but I do deny that progressive, socialist, and Yugoslav-minded forces in Serbia will not block this influence.

As far as the Serbian Academy of Sciences is concerned, I do not really see any reason why it should not influence politics in Serbia. What people in the world, what reasonable state would be ashamed of its own academy of sciences? If ideas that are not in the interests of the socialist and democratic development of our country are uttered there, this does not mean that such ideas predominate or that members of the academy support them. However, neither does the academy play a decisive role in the formation of Serbian policy. The citizens of Serbia have a decisive role to play in these turbulent times. Progressive forces in Serbia, Communists, workers, and young people, have climbed up on the political stage and are aiming to incorporate equally into political life and to as large an extent as possible all working people, all citizens, and especially educated and young people.

Question: How do you assess the current political and security situation in the republic and the country in general?

Answer: Here I can tell you what every reasonable citizen of our country is thinking and saying. All reasonable people are worried, and therefore I also am worried. It would be a good thing if what was said long ago, that it is good fortune that the destiny of a people does not hinge on its leadership, were true. However, it is only partly true. The leadership has a major role in determining the people's destiny, and has, at this difficult time, contributed to the difficult economic and political situation.

The Balkans and Cooperation

Question: How do you view the prospects for cooperation among the states and peoples of the Balkans?

Answer: The crisis of the contemporary world is obvious, but processes bringing people throughout the world closer and tying them together are also obvious.

The Balkan countries are to a greater or lesser extent insufficiently developed. They could introduce stronger forms of cooperation in order to support their own efforts to achieve material development. This cooperation is also necessary and possible in order to maintain peace in the Balkans, which during history has often been a sensitive area, and sometimes even a powder keg.

[The following two passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Doubts and Dignity

Question: How can interethnic trust be created and restored in Kosovo and elsewhere in the country, preventing an anti-Serbian and anti-Albanian atmosphere?

Answer: Through common labor and in general through living together, the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo were for a long time genuinely in serious danger. Under such circumstances, they rightly became suspicious of the Albanians. This suspicion must be respected, because it was based on the harsh facts of life, and it will vanish when reality shows it to be groundless. Now, with the constitution of a united Serbia as a republic from the territorial and political point of view, many Albanians in Kosovo fear that their status will be jeopardized. I would like to use this occasion, just as I have used other occasions available to me, to say to the Albanians that, just as we have fought for the rights and dignity of the Serbs and Montenegrins, who were in danger, so we will not allow the rights and dignity of the Albanians in Kosovo and Serbia to be imperiled. If we commit ourselves to equal and honest relations among people in Kosovo, and we are so committed, the basis for an anti-Serbian and anti-Albanian atmosphere will vanish.

The Intelligentsia and Stabilization

Question: What do you consider the role of the progressive Albanian intelligentsia to be in the struggle to stabilize the situation in Kosovo?

Answer: For a long time, and perhaps even now, a section of the Albanian intelligentsia has remained convinced that the SR of Serbia is not their republic, and that in the future neither would Yugoslavia be their homeland. Their conviction was created by the system of education and the media, which were prescribed by Albania and its emissaries in Kosovo. It is hard to change such thinking among a section of the Albanian intelligentsia quickly.

For this reason, all progressive Albanian intellectuals should now try, as fast and effectively as possible, to make changes in the sphere of education and the media, where intolerance toward Serbia and Yugoslavia was bred. For this reason, we are changing all the teaching syilabi from elementary schools to the university, especially in the social sciences, and the programming policy of publishing houses, cultural institutions, and especially young people's media. In particular, the relevant staff changes must be made as soon as possible in all these fields and institutions.

The Birthrate

Question: Do you wish to comment on the birthrate problem in Kosovo?

Answer: All poor areas generally have a high birthrate. Kosovo, where the majority of the populace is Albanian, bears the burden of its own lack of development, and this, among other things, is evident in its high birthrate. This problem must be solved through a comprehensive policy of development in Kosovo.

The [illegible] of the Individual

Question: You are a politician who has been highly praised and higly criticized. What do you say about this?

Answer: Those who agree with the policies I stand for praise me. Those who do not agree with them criticize me. As for those who praise me, I would prefer them to support the policies they agree with and express this to me personally with work and responsibility, rather than placards and photographs.

For me personally, excessive stress on the role of any individual is unacceptable from a political and moral point of view, and is in total opposition to my conception of the democratic development of society for which we are struggling. This belongs to an age that is past.

As for those who criticize me, I have nothing against civilized and well-intentioned criticism. However, I do not consider lies, jibes, and insults to be criticism. These are beyond the bounds of criticism.

The Provinces' Status

Question: How do you view the present status of the provinces in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and the Constitution of the SFRY and the reservations apparent in various circles outside the republic over this dual status [dualizem] of the provinces?

Answer: The provinces do not have any kind of dual status. They are constituent parts of Serbia, autonomous provinces of Serbia, and not autonomous provinces of Yugoslavia.

Finally, a Message

Question: Do you have any message, not only for the Albanians, but for other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and beyond?

Answer: I have a message for all the Albanians and for all other citizens of Yugoslavia who wish to listen: Yugoslavia is our common homeland, so we must all unite to preserve it and to create from it a society in which its citizens can live well in safety and freedom. This is in the interest of all the peoples and everybody in Yugoslavia. [end of boxed passage]

Kadijevic Tells Generals of Security Concerns

LD2812175989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—We are facing crucial events which should pull the country out of crisis and open up prospects for its further socialist development. In this decisive battle, which you will certainly join, the forces working against the unity of our country and socialism must be defeated, Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, said today in the Army Club in Belgrde at a reception for generals and admirals, whose active service, on the basis the law on service in the SFRY Armed Forces, ends this year.

Thanking them for their cooperation, conscientious and honest work, and contribution toward the development of the Armed Forces and the country's self-defense, Army Gen Kadijevic expressed his conviction that they, in accordance with their abilities and Yugoslav orientations, will continue to give their personal contribution to the society's efforts invested in overcoming the existing difficulties. Noting the current social moment, the federal secretary stressed, among other things, that a grave social situation and very vehement clashes between leaderships regarding the concept of further development represent the major danger for the country's security. All this must be viewed in conjunction with contradictory trends in international relations, where sudden turns of events with unpredictable outcomes have occurred. The latest events at the turbulent international scene confirm this daily.

General Stevan Mirkovic thanked the federal secretary for national defense and stressed that all generals and admirals, whose active service in the SFRY Armed Forces ends this year, will remain Tito's soldiers.

At the end of the meeting, Army Gen Veljko Kadijevic, with sincere wishes for successful and long life, handed placards with Marshal Tito's portraits, decorations, and letters of gratitude to retiring generals and admirals.

'Classified Gazette' Issued for Many Years

AU0201210090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 89 p 6

[Bojana Oprijan-Ilic report: "Laws for the Chosen People"]

[Excerpts] And the Lord made exactly 10 Commandments, one for each finger, so they will be easier to remember. This has been so since time immemorial: One has to know the rules in order to be able to act accordingly. However, the creators of domestic laws allow themselves the freedom to act according to political and not legal rules. The absurd Kafka-esque idea about a phantom legal world is undoubtedly an original creation of Yugoslav legislators. The most obvious proof for this is the existence of many years of a SFRY publication with a mysterious name—Classified Official Gazette.

"Regulations and general and other documents of a classified nature are published in a special official SFRY publication entitled 'SFRY Official Gazette—Classified Publication.' The Classified Publication comes out as warranted.... The type of confidentiality of classified regulations is determined by the regulation's issuer."

With this text (The Official Gazette of the SFRY, 4 July 1980) based on the Law on the Amendments to the Law on Publishing Federal Laws and Other Regulations, the generally valid and known legal order in the SFRY has acquired a brother in the "underground": According to the principle that a more recent or a special law has an advantage over an earlier one, a law issued in this secret official gazette can abolish the existing or introduce new obligations without citizens being aware of them. One can introduce new rights or privileges of a certain circle. Moreover, the content of the classified publication must not be known by those people to whom they have not been sent, because that would have been a violation of regulations on different kinds of secrets, ranging from business to state secrets. However, as is known, everybody must obey laws, no matter whether they are good or bad, to the last letter (?!). [passage omitted]

Almost all republics and provinces have introduced special classified publications by a decree. Montenegro has used a somewhat different method—there is no specific regulation on a classified official gazette there, this is regulated by the Law on Publications. Slovenia is an exemption, its recent amendments to laws abolished the "Special Official Gazette." As regards Croatia, it is in fact "unknown" whether it possesses a classified gazette or not, because it had not adopted the law on publications at all, but acts directly according to Article 290 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

According to Article 5 of the regulation on the conditions and ways of issuing and using the Special (that is, secret) Official Gazette of the SFRY, the General Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council is obliged to make the classified publication be sent to the following: the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, federal social councils, the Federal Committee for Legislation, republican and provincial assemblies, republican and provincial presidencies, republican and provincial executive councils, Constitutional and Federal courts, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, the Federal Social Attorney, officials at the head of federal administrative organs, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Interest Community for Foreign Affairs, and the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy.

This list can be "edited" at the order of the issuer of the classified regulation.

However, the secret official gazette is not the only one to carry regulations kept away from the public eye. There are also secret ordinances in the SFRY that are not carried even in this classified publication. These regulations are issued by the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and federal administrative organs for internal affairs and for national defense. Since nothing is known about the content of these ordinances, one can only guess about whether they comply with the SFRY Constitution and whether it is really necessary for them to be considered "secret."

Publication To Continue

LD2712131289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1056 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 27 (TANJUG)—A classified edition of the official gazette of Yugoslavia, established ten years ago for the publishing of special laws and regulations, will not be discontinued, the Yugoslav Government informed Slovenia's deputy to the Federal parliament Viktorija Potocnik.

Earlier this month, Potocnik demanded in parliament that the edition be discontinued.

The regulations published in the clasified publication concern the country's security and defence, and the degree of their confidentiality is determined by the body which enacts them.

The Yugoslav government noted that many regulations were unjustifiably marked "Top Secret" and published in this edition. It proposed to the Yugoslav Assembly to clearly define provisions [word indistinct] rules of procedure to determine the classified character or otherwise of a law.

So far, the classified edition of the official gazette has made it possible to pass and repeal laws without the people knowing anything about it, the Belgrade daily BORBA wrote recently. It also served to introduce special rights and privileges for a select group of people.

BORBA quoted the example of a deal with a foreign firm which failed to come through because its provisions clashed with the "published" regulations. However, after a study of Yugoslav regulations, the foreign partner failed to find those pertaining to his case because they were published in the classified edition.

Kosovo Construction Workers Protest Bankruptcy

AU0201140790 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 19 Dec 89 p 14

[Z. Gecaj report: "'We Are Prepared to Work Without Pay Until Our Combine Is Stabilized'"]

[Excerpts] After the 15 December protest gathering of the Ramiz Sadiku Combine workers over their difficult material position, which has now lasted several months, about 500 workers of the construction combine began assembling in their truck parking lot from the early hours of yesterday morning [18 December]. They once again repeated their now familiar demands, that they are asking for work and bread and nothing else. However, they were more aggressive yesterday than ever before, since, as they said, the militia had needlessly used violence to disperse their protest the previous Friday [15 December]. While they were assembled in the combine's parking lot, Shaban Bojniku, secretary of the Pristina Trade Union Council, and Agim Paci, deputy chairman of the Pristina Executive Council, came to them and attempted to talk with them, but this was impossible.

At about 1300, small groups of workers began to leave the parking lot to go to the Pristina Communal Assembly building. By about 1400, there were some 500 workers in front of the assembly building, and at 1500 the security organs asked the workers, showing their identity cards, to enter the hall of the Pristina Communal Committee. After a while, Dilshat Bytyci, chairman of the Pristina Executive Council, and Dragan Stankovic and Shaban Bojniku, chairman and secretary of the Pristina Trade Union Council, came to talk with the workers. Dilshat Bytyci started by asking the assembled workers to form a delegation of 10 persons to talk with the communal leadership, because there was no other way of starting a discussion, he said. The workers responded angrily to this, and demanded to speak themselves, but the chairman of the gathering did not allow this. Nevertheless, workers began to speak from the dais, and there were also speakers from among the crowd.

They said that they had been driven to the hall by their difficult living conditions, although working people, least of all, wanted to be forced to do such a thing. We have no bread to take home to our children at day's end. The majority said that there was absolutely no question of buying school textbooks and notebooks, and we have begun to stop sending our children to school. We do not fully understand the bankruptcy of the Ramiz Sadiku Combine, because its basic capital is adequate to bring it out of its crisis and enable it to contribute to society as it did a few years ago. Many workers emphasized in their speeches that they were willing to work even without wages until the combine is stabilized, and that the combine's name should not be allowed to vanish so easily. We demand that this gathering produce a proposal to invalidate the bankruptcy order approved by the Pristina Communal Assembly, because there are no grounds for it on the basis of the federal bankruptcy law, Musli Sopiani said, quoting several articles from the law. Many workers said that we have always stated the reasons why we have gathered at our protest meetings, and there was therefore no reason to use truncheons and injure our comrades, as happened last week. On the basis of all the data so far, the bankruptcy of Ramiz Sadiku is a "political bankruptcy," not an economic bankruptcy, because its capital could cover its losses several times over. [passage omitted]

In the end, the workers chose a 10-man delegation which will be received next Friday by the chairman of the Pristina League of Communists Communal Committee and will be informed about efforts to solve Ramiz Sadiku's problems. The workers then quietly left the hall and boarded buses which were provided to take them home.

Bankruptcy of Combine Enforced

AU0201140990 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 20 Dec 89 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Stands of the Presidium of the Pristina League of Communists Communal Committee on Solving the Problems of the Ramiz Sadiku Combine"]

[Excerpts] The communal leadership and the League of Communists [LC] bear responsibility for solving the current problems of the combine as a whole and for this reason are making efforts and are undertaking every necessary measure to settle the status of workers at risk in the best way possible while the issue of Ramiz Sadiku itself will be resolved as demanded by the new economic reform, which implies legal solutions to the problems which have arisen involving this combine.

The bankruptcy procedure started against the Ramiz Sadiku Combine must be continued and concluded because the bankruptcy order was not desired by anybody but is a result of enforcing the law of the state, which cannot tolerate lack of work, indiscipline, sloth, or irresponsible use of equipment, and insists on obligations toward banks, suppliers, cooperating organizations, and other economic bodies being met within a certain period. The bankruptcy procedure is the only way in which this collective can meet its obligations to its creditors.

Bearing in mind these facts, and the number of workers left without work and their extremely serious and unfavorable position, even involving social tensions, the Presidium vigorously demands that the former leaders who brought Ramiz Sadiku to this plight and to the point of final liquidation should be ideopolitically called to account. [passage omitted]

Bearing in mind the fact that, despite these measures, a certain number of working people will remain unemployed, it is therefore necessary to secure material assistance through the Self-Managing Interest Community for Employment and to take other measures for the social protection of the workers and their families, and also to call on other collectives in the Commune of Pristina, when they recruit new workers, to give priority to workers of the former Ramiz Sadiku Construction Combine, something which is also a legal obligation of the Self-Managing Interest Community for Employment. [passage omitted]

Serbian TU Against Strike in Front of Assembly

LD2812223189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Workers should no longer seek solutions to material, social, and other problems in front of the Yugoslav Assembly, as has been done recently, but primarely in factories, which still belong to workers. This is one of the stances from today's session of the Serbian Trade Union Council Presidium.

When concluding the discussion, Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the republican Trade Union, said that workers have the right to strike, but that strikes in front of the Yugoslav Assembly are humiliating.

'Chauvinist' Pamphlets Sent to Capljina Muslims

AU3012105989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Dec 89 p 6

[A. Dragicevic report: "The Same Poison in Three Packages"]

[Excerpt] Capljina, 11 Dec—The pamphlets that had been mailed exclusively to Capljina citizens of Muslim nationality, about which BORBA had already reported, were not all the same. In those that have been found and given to the Internal Affairs Secretariat, the author or group of authors address Muslims in general. Others address Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Montenegro, and Albanians. There are also some pamphlets with the signature "The Army of God" and "Long Live Hizballah."

In text written by hand on pieces of paper pulled out of school notebooks, Muslims are called upon not to trust Serbs, particularly not Croats, not to forget sufferings during the National Liberation Struggle, and to think about their children.

In the debate at the session of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Capljina, the pamphlets were assessed to be a chauvinist act planned to provoke, upset, and thereby create conditions for the activity of this kind of political underground forces. [passage omitted]